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HARMER'S
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
SCRIPTURES.

BY
DR. ADAM CLARKE.

VOL. II.

HARMER'S
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
SCRIPTURES

BY
DR. ADAM CLARKE

VOL. II.

OBSERVATIONS
ON VARIOUS
PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE,
PLACING THEM IN A NEW LIGHT;
AND ASCERTAINING
THE MEANING OF SEVERAL, NOT DETERMINABLE BY THE
METHODS COMMONLY USED BY THE LEARNED;

ORIGINALLY COMPILED BY THE

REV. THOMAS HARMER,

FROM

RELATIONS INCIDENTALLY MENTIONED IN BOOKS OF
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS INTO THE EAST.

FIFTH EDITION,

WITH MANY IMPORTANT ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

BY

ADAM CLARKE, LL.D. F.A.S.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

Impellimur autem Natura, ut prodesse velimus quamplurimis imprimisque
docendo,
.... Itaque non facile est invenire, qui quod sciat ipse, non tradat alteri.
Cic. de Fin. lib. iii.

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1816.

OBSEVATIONS

ON

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE

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REV. THOMAS HARMER,

FROM

REMARKS PROMPTLY MENTIONED IN BOOKS OF

TOGAS AND GRAYS INTO THE WEST.

FIFTH EDITION.

WITH NOTES AND COMMENTARY.

ADAM B. T. A. S.



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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

CHAP. IV.

RELATING TO THEIR DIET, &c.

	Page
OBSERVATION XXVII. <i>Of Water Melons, and their great Utility in the East</i> . . .	1
XXVIII. <i>Curious Observations on the Dove's Dung, mentioned 2 Kings vi. 25</i> . . .	7
XXIX. <i>Wine and Flowers frequent in Eastern Entertainments</i> . . .	10
+ XXX. <i>Burning of Aromatics at their Feasts</i> . . .	13
XXXI. <i>Singular Method of inviting Persons to an Entertainment, in the East</i> . . .	15
XXXII. <i>Entertainments made in the open Air in hot Countries</i> . . .	18
+ XXXIII. <i>In those out of Door Entertainments, any Passenger is invited to partake</i> . . .	24
XXXIV. <i>Fishermen in the East frequently land to dress and eat their Fish on the Sea-shore</i> . . .	27
+ XXXV. <i>Of their sitting on Heaps of Stones at their Feasts</i> . . .	36
XXXVI. <i>Manner in which the Copts eat their Victuals.</i> . . .	39

	Page
XXXVII. <i>Method of cultivating Rice in different Parts of the East Indies, to which frequent allusion is made in the Sacred Writings</i>	40
XXXVIII. <i>Strange Method of eating among the Arabs</i>	47
XXXIX. <i>Butter and Honey used as a Breakfast among the Arabs</i>	52
XL. <i>Honey not wholesome to Europeans in the East</i>	58
XLI. <i>Flavour of Honey peculiarly excellent, when just expressed from the Combs</i>	59
XLII. <i>Of their Honey-pots</i>	69
XLIII. <i>Different Kinds of Delicacies used in the East</i>	70
XLIV. <i>Potted Flesh made use of by Travellers in the East</i>	73
XLV. <i>Different Kinds of Game esteemed Delicacies in the East</i>	75
XLVI. <i>Shoulder of Lamb a Delicacy in the East</i>	77
XLVII. <i>Fat Lambs esteemed a Delicacy in the East</i>	79
XLVIII. <i>How Strangers are entertained in the East</i>	80
XLIX. <i>Roasted and stewed Meat, Delicacies among the Arabs</i>	86
L. <i>Of their Pottage in the East</i>	90
LI. <i>Seldom use Flesh-Meat, but live on Milk, Pulse, &c.</i>	91
LII. <i>Game sometimes used—Hunting of the Arabs</i>	93
LIII. <i>Inhabitants of the Villages obliged to supply their Grandees when on a Journey, with Provisions</i>	95
LIV. <i>Different Methods of serving up food at Meals</i>	98
LV. <i>Manner of eating at Courts</i>	103

LVI.	<i>Provisions sent from the Tables of Eastern Princes to the Poor, &c.</i>	105
LVII.	<i>Women and Men do not eat together in the East</i>	106
LVIII.	<i>The Eastern People begin to eat very early in the Morning</i>	108
LIX.	<i>Abstemiousness conducive to Health</i>	110
LX.	<i>Mats used in the East instead of Tables</i>	111
LXI.	<i>Various Utensils used by the ancient Jews</i>	113
LXII.	<i>Women are still accustomed to draw water in the East</i>	122
XLIII.	<i>Water the principal Beverage in the East</i>	124
LXIV.	<i>Large Supply of Cattle at the Tables of Princes</i>	126
LXV.	<i>Drinking Vessels often made of Gold in the East</i>	132
LXVI.	<i>Horns used as drinking Vessels in the East</i>	134
LXVII.	<i>Effects of Wine upon some Eastern Devotees</i>	136
LXVIII.	<i>Different Kinds of Wines in the East</i>	137
LXIX.	<i>Sweet Wines much esteemed in the East</i>	146
LXX.	<i>The Easterns drink their Wine before Meat</i>	149
LXXI.	<i>Libations of Wine still made in the East</i>	151
LXXII.	<i>Of their Wine-Presses</i>	152
LXXIII.	<i>The Reason why Wine is often poured from Vessel to Vessel</i>	153
LXXIV.	<i>Snow put into the Wine in Order to cool it</i>	ib.
LXXV.	<i>Vinegar and Lemon-Juice used as Drinks in the East</i>	155
LXXVI.	<i>Of Lemons, Oranges, and Citrons</i>	157
LXXVII.	<i>Superior Excellence of the Pistachio Nuts of Syria</i>	163
LXXVIII.	<i>Remarks on Ziba's Present to David</i>	ib.
LXXIX.	<i>Of Music in the Eastern Feasts</i>	169

	Page
LXXX. <i>Different Kinds of Musical Instruments used in the East</i>	172
LXXXI. <i>Of Field and House Music at Aleppo</i> .	175

CHAP. V.

CONCERNING THEIR MANNER OF TRAVELLING, 177—288.

OBS. I. <i>Eastern Travellers carry their Provisions with them</i>	177
II. <i>Carry also Skins filled with Water, for their Refreshment on their Journeys</i>	180
III. <i>Carry also Provender for their Beasts</i> .	183
IV. <i>Their Manner of making up their Packages</i> .	188
V. <i>Of their Wells, and the Method of drawing Water from them</i>	190
VI. <i>How they dispose of their Baggage on Journeys, illustrating Ezek. xii. 3—7</i>	191
VII. <i>They relieve the Tedium of the Way on their Journeys by Music, Songs, Tales, &c.</i> .	194
VIII. <i>Their Manner of Travelling by Camels, Dromedaries, Boats, &c.</i>	196
IX. <i>No Mangers used in the East; Hair-Bags and Stone-Troughs answering the Purpose</i>	201
X. <i>Their Caravans composed of People of Different Nations</i>	203
XI. <i>Different Kinds of Vehicles used in the Caravans for Persons of Distinction, the Sick, &c.</i>	204
XII. <i>Method of wearing their Swords in travelling.</i>	208
XIII. <i>Travellers on Horseback attended by Persons on Foot</i>	ib.
XIV. <i>Their Method of travelling on Foot</i> .	210
XV. <i>Of their Roads, Inclosures, &c.</i>	211

XVI.	<i>Of their Inclosures, Fences, Walls, &c.</i>	215
XVII.	<i>Of their Woods in the Holy Land</i>	218
XVIII.	<i>Dangerous Chasms near Aleppo</i>	220
XIX.	<i>Hospitality of the Arabs to Travellers, explaining Luke xiv. 23, &c. and Jerem. xlix. 3.</i>	222
XX.	<i>Provisions used in Journeying, with a curious Comment on a Petition of the Lord's Prayer</i>	225
XXI.	<i>Provisions often extorted from the poor Inhabitants of the Country, by the Officers of Government</i>	235
XXII.	<i>The Times of Journeying, pitching their Tents, &c.</i>	242
XXIII.	<i>Time of shutting their Gates in the East</i>	245
XXIV.	<i>Civility of the Women to Strangers</i>	248
XXV.	<i>Of Caravanserais, and Public Inns in the East</i>	249
XXVI.	<i>The great Liberality of the Arabs to their Fellow-Travellers</i>	252
XXVII.	<i>Curious Criticisms on John iv. 6.</i>	254
XXVIII.	<i>Water carried sometimes in Skins, and sometimes in Earthen Jars</i>	261
XXIX.	<i>On the Supposition that the Israelites marched out of Egypt, in Files of Five in Front</i>	262
XXX.	<i>Manner observed by the Eastern Caravans in their Journeys</i>	265
XXXI.	<i>Caravans travel chiefly in the Night</i>	267
XXXII.	<i>In journeying, Bells are sometimes appended both to Horses and Camels</i>	268
XXXIII.	<i>Of the Lights used for Travelling by Night</i>	272
XXXIV.	<i>The Necessity of Guides in Travelling through the Eastern Deserts</i>	279
XXXV.	<i>Heaps of Stones placed at certain Distances, to point out the Way in the Deserts</i>	283

CHAP. VI.

EASTERN MODES OF HONOURING THE LIVING AND THE
DEAD, 289—519.

	Page
OBS. I. <i>Gifts presented to Inferiors in the East</i>	289
II. <i>Particular Kinds of Presents made to Superiors</i>	293
III. <i>The preceding Subject continued</i>	299
IV. <i>Presents made at the Circumcision of Children</i>	300
V. <i>Presents of Meat and Drink made to their great Men</i>	302
VI. <i>Presents often very expensive in the East, not only those made to Strangers, but to private Persons</i>	304
VII. <i>Presents often considered as a Tribute</i>	307
VIII. <i>Dresses often given to Persons of Distinction</i>	308
IX. <i>Flowers and odoriferous Herbs often given as a token of Friendship</i>	309
X. <i>Presents, unless of considerable Value, are sometimes rejected</i>	311
XI. <i>Horses commonly presented to Grandees</i>	313
XII. <i>When an Inferior is visited by a Superior, the former makes him a Present at his Departure</i>	315
XIII. <i>Presents sometimes made to Princes to engage them to lend their Assistance in Time of War</i>	316
XIV. <i>On the Eastern Method of Salutation</i>	318
XV. <i>Particular Kinds of Salutations</i>	325
XVI. <i>Farther Considerations on the same Subject</i>	331
XVII. <i>Salutation both by Attitude and Expression</i>	333

XVIII. Sometimes the Inferior mentions himself before the Person he intends to honour . . .	334
XIX. Prostrations, and kissing the Feet, sometimes practised in the East . . .	335
XX. Kissing the Hand and putting it on the Head, Tokens of Respect . . .	339
XXI. Kissing what is presented, a Token of Respect to Superiors . . .	340
XXII. Intimate Acquaintances kiss each other's Hands, Head, or Shoulders . . .	345
XXIII. Kissing the Beard, a Token of Respect . . .	346
XXIV. Beards held in high Estimation in the East . . .	347
XXV. Kissing the Hand, a Token of Reverence . . .	349
XXVI. Dismounting, a Token of Respect . . .	351
XXVII. Christians in Egypt obliged to alight, when a Turk passes by . . .	352
XXVIII. Different Postures indicating Respect . . .	354
XXIX. Seating a Person on a Cushion, a Token of Respect . . .	355
XXX. Sitting in the Corner, a Token of Supe- riority . . .	356
XXXI. Different Kinds of Perfumes used at the Close of friendly Visits . . .	366
XXXII. The Subject farther illustrated from Dan. ii. 46. . .	367
XXXIII. Changing the Dress of a Person, a Token of Honour . . .	379
XXXIV. Presents of Garments often made even to the Great . . .	383
XXXV. Party-coloured Garments esteemed a Mark of Honour . . .	385
XXXVI. Eastern Warriors often magnificently clothed . . .	387
XXXVII. Sometimes a Prince gives his own Garment as a Token of the highest Re- spect . . .	388

	Page
XXXVIII. <i>Criminals not permitted to look on the Person of the King</i>	390
XXXIX. <i>Other curious Methods of doing Persons Honour</i>	395
XL. <i>Riding on Horseback, the Privilege only of highly-privileged Persons</i>	397
XLI. <i>Honours conferred on those who have got the Koran by Heart</i>	400
XLII. <i>Watering the Ground to lay the Dust, before a Superior</i>	402
XLIII. <i>Singular Method of honouring an Arabian Princess</i>	404
XLIV. <i>Honours paid to Nadir Shah</i>	406
XLV. <i>The Easterns often change their Garments in Token of Respect</i>	408
XLVI. <i>New Clothes used in Times of rejoicing</i>	409
XLVII. <i>The Dress of Brides often changed during the Marriage Solemnity</i>	412
XLVIII. <i>Curious Criticism on Psalm cxxiii. 2.</i>	414
XLIX. <i>Remarkable Condescension sometimes shewn by the Eastern Nobles</i>	415
L. <i>Females often express their Joy by clapping their Hands</i>	417
LI. <i>Dancing and Music used in doing Persons Honour</i>	420
LII. <i>Some Account of the ancient Eastern Dances</i>	423
LIII. <i>Description of a Maronite Wedding</i>	424
LIV. <i>Different Methods of expressing their Joy</i>	427
LV. <i>Music and Singing used in honouring Superiors</i>	431
LVI. <i>A Spear in the Hand, or a Standard carried before a Person, are Marks of Honour</i>	433
LVII. <i>Letters sent to Superiors are made up in a peculiar and costly Style</i>	435
LVIII. <i>Bracelets sometimes Ensigns of Royalty</i>	437
LIX. <i>Numerous Lights, curiously disposed, used in doing Persons Honour</i>	439

LX. Chains on the Necks of Camels, &c. Marks of Distinction and Grandeur	440
LXI. Umbrellas used for the same Purposes	441
LXII. Feathers used as Ornaments in the East	444
LXIII. Persons not possessing the regal Dignity, sometimes honoured by Permission to sit on a Throne	451
LXIV. Shields carried before Persons, a Mark of Honour	453
LXV. Rich Dresses and costly Furs used in doing honour to Persons of Distinction	455
LXVI. Red Shoes and Girdles, supposed to have been Marks of Dignity in ancient Times	458
LXVII. Different Articles of Dress used among the Ancients	462
LXVIII. The same Subject continued	470
LXIX. Eunuchs attendant on the Great	473
LXX. A curious Illustration of Ezek. xlv. 2, 3.	475
LXXI. Giving the Hand to a Person, a Token of Subjection	476
LXXII. Curious Illustration of Ezek. xxvii. 12—16	478
LXXIII. High raised Seats, Places of Honour	483
LXXIV. Of the Use of Carpets, in Devotion, and of Sackcloth in Mourning	487
LXXV. The Manner in which the Sabbath is honoured among the Modern Greeks	491
LXXVI. Of stretching out their Hands in Prayer	494
LXXVII. Prostration at the Threshold, one Mode of honouring Persons in the East	496
LXXVIII. Fine Handkerchiefs, embroidered Cloth, and Pieces of curious Needle-Work, given as Tokens of Respect to Persons in the East	499
LXXIX. A curious Illustration of the History of Joseph	502
LXXX. Pecuniary Rewards Tokens of Honour in the East	507

	Page
LXXXI. <i>Various Methods of honouring Persons, something similar to those in the East, anciently practised in European Kingdoms</i>	511
LXXXII. <i>Giving and receiving Presents, Pledges of mutual Friendship</i>	514
LXXXIII. <i>Presents made and received, essentially necessary to civil Intercourse in the East</i>	517

OBSERVATIONS
ON
DIVERS PASSAGES OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

CHAPTER IV.

RELATING TO THEIR DIET, &c.

OBSERVATION XXVII.

Continued from the preceding Volume.

Of Water Melons, and their great Utility in the East.

MELONS, which are now so common, and at the same time in the highest esteem in the East, are contemporary with grapes, with pomegranates, and with figs; one would be inclined then to imagine that they have been introduced into the Holy Land since the time Moses sent Joshua, and the other spies, from the Wilderness of Paran, to examine and bring back an account of its productions; as writers tell us many other useful plants have been imported from other places into that country, or at least its neighbourhood.*

Melons, according to Sir J. Chardin, are the most excellent fruit that they have in Persia;† and

* See Dr. Shaw, p. 341.

† Voy. de M. Chardin, Tome II. p. 18.

he tells us the season for eating them holds four months.* Dr. Shaw observed that musk and water-melons began to be gathered the latter end of June in Barbary;† consequently a month or more before either pomegranates, the common kind of fig, or the grape, begin to ripen. But if they hold four months, or about half so long only, they must have been found in the time of the first ripe grapes,‡ when the spies were sent out. Agreeably to this, Dr. Richard Chandler mentions figs, melons, such as are peculiar to hot climates, (I suppose he means water-melons,) and grapes, in large and rich clusters, fresh from the vineyard, were served up to him in Asia Minor, at the close of a repast at noon, in the month of August.

They certainly now grow in the Holy Land. It is the fruit which Egmont and Heyman selected from all the rest that they found growing on Mount Carmel, as the subject of panegyric, being in themselves so excellent, and so much cultivated there.§

“Doubtless,” says Dr. Shaw, “the water-melon, or *angura*, or *pistacha*, or *dillah*, as they call it here, is providentially calculated for the southern countries, as it affords a cool refreshing juice, assuages thirst, mitigates feverish disorders, and compensates thereby, in no small degree, for the excessive heats, not so much of these as of the more southern districts.”||

* P. 19.

† P. 141.

‡ For the grape, according to Dr. Shaw, begins to ripen in Barbary towards the end of July, p. 146.

§ Vol. II. p. 12.

|| P. 141.

Surely, if they had *then* grown in that country, the spies would have carried a sample of this refreshing fruit to the camp of Israel in Paran, as easy to be conveyed thither as any of those they brought to Moses. In fact, melons are now carried to very distant places. The best melons, according to Sir John Chardin, grow in Corassan, near the Little Tartary.... They bring them to Ispahan for the king, and to make presents of. They are not spoiled in the carrying, though they are brought above thirty days' journey. He adds, that he had eaten, at Surat in the Indies, melons that had been sent from Agra. This, he observed, was still more extraordinary. They were carried by a man on foot, in baskets, one in a basket, being very large, which baskets were hanged on a pole, one at each end, the pole being laid on one of his shoulders, from whence, for ease, he shifted it to the other from time to time. These people go seven or eight leagues a day with their load.

The way of carrying the cluster of grapes, from the valley of Eshcol, did not much differ.* It would have been easy to have carried some of the melons after this Persian manner, or in a basket between two, or as they did the uncured figs and pomegranates: their carrying none seems to shew they did not then grow in that country, though they do now in plenty, and are so much valued as to be distinctly mentioned, when other fruits are not taken notice of.

It may even, possibly, be doubted whether they

* Numb. xiii. 23.

then commonly grew in Egypt, notwithstanding that, according to our translation, the Israelites, in the Wilderness, regretted the want of them there: *We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely, the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic*, Numb. xi. 5. I have elsewhere shewn, that the justness of our version may be questioned, as to some other things mentioned here; and perhaps the second of the words used to describe the vegetables they longed after has been mis-translated.

It is true, they are now in great numbers, and in great variety, in Egypt: but some of them, we are positively assured, have been introduced into that country, from other places; and some of them not very many ages back. Perhaps none of the more delicious of the melon-kind were aboriginal, or introduced so early as the time of Moses. The Septuagint, which is known to be an Egyptian translation, supposed fruit of the melon-kind was meant by the Hebrew word,* which appears nowhere else in the Old Testament: but it is to be remembered, that great improvements might have been, and doubtless actually were made, in the introducing foreign plants into Egypt, between the time of Moses and that of Ptolemy Philadelphus. All, perhaps, that can be certainly said about it is, that if these water-melons were common in Egypt, in the time the children of Israel sojourned there, it can be no wonder that they longed for them in those sultry deserts; and that as improvements went

* אֲבַתְחֵם *abtacheem*, for they translate it Περνας.

very slowly on in those very early times, they might not have been introduced into the land of Canaan, when the spies took a survey of it. Had they found it there, they would no doubt have brought a specimen of this fruit to Moses and Israel in the Wilderness. Nor would it have been unmentioned in those passages that speak of the fertility of the country promised to the patriarchs.

It may be amusing to subjoin Maillet's account of this kind of fruit, in its present state in Egypt.*
 “ Among the different kinds of vegetables, which are of importance to supply the want of life, or to render it more agreeable, (he tells us) is the *melon*, which, without dispute, is there one of the most salutary and common among them. All the species that they have in Europe, and in the sea-ports of the Mediterranean, are to be found in Egypt. Besides them, there is one, whose substance is green and very delicious. It grows round like a bowl, and is commonly of an admirable taste. There are also water-melons, extremely good. But above all the rest, at Cairo and its neighbourhood, they boast of a species of melons, pointed at each end, and swelling out in the middle, which the people of the country call *abdelarins*. This is an Arabian word, which signifies the slave of sweetness. In fact, these melons are not to be eaten without sugar, as being insipid without it. Maerisi says, this last kind was formerly transported hither, by a man whose name they bear They give it to the sick, to whom they refuse all other kinds of fruit. The rind is

* Lett. ix. p. 11, 12.

very beautifully wrought ; its figure very singular ; as well as the manner of ripening it, which is by applying a red hot iron to one of its extremities. The people of the country eat it green as well as ripe, and in the same manner as we eat apples. These melons, of a foreign extraction, continue two whole months, and grow no where else in Egypt. They say the same species is found in Cyprus.*

* “The Arabians,” according to Hasselquist, *Voyages*, p. 255. “call the *water-melon*, BATECH, a word evidently derived from the Hebrew בטח *batach*, whence the plural אבטחים *abtacheem*. It is cultivated, he observes, in Egypt on the banks of the Nile, in the rich clayey earth which subsides during the inundation. This serves the Egyptians for meat, drink, and physic. It is eaten in abundance during the season, even by the richer sort of people ; but the common people on whom Providence has bestowed nothing but poverty and patience, scarcely eat any thing but these ; and account this the best time of the year, as they are obliged to put up with worse fare at other times. As this fruit also serves these poor creatures for drink, they have less occasion for water than if they were to live on more substantial food.” It is no wonder, therefore, that the Israelites, who in heart forsook their God, should have murmured for lack of these in the burning parched Wilderness. Water-melons also form a part of the provisions, essentially necessary to the comfort and health of the military in their encampments, in the hot Eastern countries : Mr. Jackson, in his *Journey overland from India*, soon after having fallen in with a Turkish encampment on the river Tigris, not far from Baghdad, met several *kiraffes* laden with refreshments for the Turkish army ; the cargo of one of them consisting entirely of water-melons. p. 85.—EDIT.

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

Curious Observations on the Dove's Dung, mentioned 2 Kings vi. 25.

THE royal city of Samaria was so severely distressed, when a certain king of Syria besieged it, that we are told *an ass's head then sold for four-score pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove's-dung for five pieces* :* this last article has been thought to be so unfit for food, that it has been very commonly imagined, that a species of pulse was meant by that term ; † nevertheless, I cannot but think it much the most probable, that proper doves'-dung was meant by the prophetic historian ; since, though it can hardly be imagined it was bought directly for food, it might be bought for the purpose of more speedily raising a supply of certain esculent vegetables, and in greater quantities, which must have been a matter of great consequence to the Israelites, shut up so straitly in Samaria.

Had the *kali* of the Scriptures been meant, how came it to pass that the common word was not made use of? Josephus and the Septuagint suppose that proper doves'-dung was meant, and the following considerations may make their sentiment appear far from improbable.

* 2 Kings vi. 25.

† Bochart has taken a great deal of pains to support this notion; though by no means with equal success.

All allow that melons are a most refreshing food, in those hot countries. And Chardin says, “ melons are served up at the tables of the luxurious almost all the year; but the proper season lasts four months, at which time they are eaten by the common people. They hardly eat any thing but melons and cucumbers at that time.” He adds, “ that during these four melon months, they are brought in such quantities to Ispahan, that he believed more were eaten in that city in one day, than in all France in a month.”*

On the other hand, he tells us, in another volume, that they have a multitude of dove-houses in Persia, which they keep up more for their dung than any thing else. This being the substance with which they manure their melon-beds, and which makes them so good and so large.†

Now if melons were half so much in request in those days‡ in Judea, as they are now in Persia, it might be natural enough to express the great scarcity of provisions there, by observing an ass's head, which, according to their law was an unclean animal, sold for fourscore pieces of silver; and a small quantity of that dung that was most useful to quicken vegetation, as well as to increase those productions of the earth which were so desirable in those hot climates, that a small quantity, I say, of that substance should, in such circumstances, be sold for five such pieces. At least it is probable thus the Septuagint and Josephus understood the

* Voyages, Tome II. p. 19.

† Tome III. p. 91.

‡ *Many generations* after the time of Moses and the spies.

passage, if we should think it incredible that melons were in very common use in the days of Joram king of Israel. Josephus, in particular, says, this dung was purchased for its salt, which can hardly mean to be used, by means of some preparation, as table-salt; but as containing salt proper for manuring the earth. The Prophet Elisha, in that very age, put salt into a spring of water, to express the imparting to it the quality of making the land watered by it fruitful, which land had been before barren, 2 Kings ii. 19—22. to which event Josephus could be no stranger.

It has been objected to this interpretation: that if the doves'-dung was for *manure*, (for this interpretation is not a new one, but wanted to be better illustrated,) that there could be no room for growing any kind of vegetable food within the walls of a royal city, when besieged. But has any one a right to take this for granted? when it is known that there is a good deal of ground unbuilt upon *now* in the royal cities of the East; that Naboth had a vineyard in Jezreel,* a place of royal residence a few years before; that Samaria was a new-built city;† and that in the time of distress, every void place might naturally be made use of to raise a species of food, that with due cultivation, in our climate, is brought to perfection, from the time of its sowing in four months, and at the same time is highly refreshing. When we reflect on these things, the supposition appears not at all improbable.

* 1 Kings xxi. 1.

† Chap. xvi. 24.

We do not know when the siege commenced, or how long it continued; that of Jerusalem, in the time of Zedekiah, lasted a year and a half;* but the time that this dung was purchased, at so dear a rate, we may believe was early in the spring, for then they begin to raise melons at Aleppo; and as they were then so oppressed with want, it is probable that it was not long after that they were delivered.

This explanation will appear less improbable, if we recollect the account already given, of the siege of Damietta, where some of the more delicate Egyptians pined to death, according to Vitriaco, though they had a sufficiency of corn, for the want of the food they were used to, pompions, &c. The Israelites might be willing then, had their stores been more abundant than they were found to have been, to add what they could to them; and especially of such grateful eatables, as melons, and such like.

OBSERVATION XXIX.

Wine and Flowers frequent in Eastern Entertainments.

THEY that are acquainted with the Greek and Roman Classics, and particularly with Horace, know how common it was with them to unite the fragrancy of *flowers* and sweet-scented leaves with the pleasures of *wine*; but they may not be so sen-

* 2 Kings xxv. 1.

sible, that it has been practised by the Eastern nations too: they may, possibly, have supposed that they made such a free use of artificial perfumes, as to cause these natural vegetable odours to be neglected.

But a passage in the apocryphal author of the Wisdom of Solomon, who was undoubtedly an Eastern writer, shews the contrary: *Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments: and let no flower of the spring pass by us. Let us crown ourselves with rose-buds before they be withered.* Ch. ii. 7, 8.

Here, instead of citing any passage from Western writers, I would set down the following passage from d'Herbelot: " Kessai one day presented himself at the door of the apartment of Al Mamon,* to read one of his lectures. The prince, who was then at table with his companions, wrote him a distich, upon a leaf of myrtle, the sense of which was, There is a time for study, and a time for diversion: this is a time I have destined for the enjoyment of friends, wine, roses, and myrtle. Kessai having read this distich, answered it upon the back of the same myrtle-leaf, in four lines, the meaning of them as follows: If you had understood the excellence of knowledge, you would, without doubt, have preferred the pleasure that gives, to what you at present enjoy in company: and if you knew who it is that is at your door, you would immediately rise, and come and prostrate yourself on the ground, praising and thanking God

* The son of the then reigning khaliff, the celebrated Haroun al Rasheed.

for the favour he had bestowed upon you. Al Mamon had no sooner read these verses, than he quitted his company, and came to his preceptor.”*

Here we see the *rose* and the *myrtle* made use of in a princely drinking bout.

In like manner one of the volumes of the Arabian Nights Entertainments mentions myrtles, sweet-basil, lilies, and jessamine, and other pleasant *flowers* and *plants*, as purchased in the time of a grand entertainment, in the days of the same khaliff, Haroun al Rasheed, along with *wine*, meat, various kinds of fruit, and confections.†

This confirms the propriety of the apocryphal account in general, but unluckily gives no illustration to the spring-flowers which he mentions, *roses* not being properly described as early flowers, they

* P. 961, art. Kessai.

† Vol. I. No. 28.

The Persian poets are full of similar passages. So Hafiz, in the 11th ode, in the letter *Lam*.

ساقی بیار باده که آمد زمان گل

“ O cup-bearer! bring *wine*; for the season of the *rose* is come.”

And again,

گل در بر و می بر کف و معشوقه بکامست

“ I have *flowers* in my bosom, *wine* in my hand, and my mistress obsequious to my desires.”

And again, in almost Horatian strains,

می خواه و گل فشان کن

“ Call for *wine*, and scatter *roses* around.”

But examples of this kind are endless, even in this poet. See Deevani Hafiz *passim*, and the examples in Sir William Jones’s Persian Grammar.—EDIT.

with us in England belonging to the middle of the summer, and lilies and jessamine being contemporary with the rose, or nearly so. But it is to be remembered, that roses flower in April in Judea, and consequently jessamine, &c.

What is more : among the vegetable ornaments worn by the Aleppine ladies on their heads, we find much earlier flowers made use of. Narcissuses, violets, and hyacinths, which, Dr. Russell tells us, blossom in the East very early in the spring ;* and are used by the women to decorate their head-dress, along with many other flowers which he mentions,† some of them late blowers. And such very early flowers might be in use among the gay people of the Jewish nation in their drinking bouts, and this writer might design to point out the continuation of these joyous assemblies, using the earliest flowers of the spring, with the rosebuds of summer, in their different seasons.

OBSERVATION XXX.

Burning of Aromatics at their Feasts.

THE burning of perfumes is practised now in the East in the times of feasting and joy, and there is reason to believe the same usage obtained anciently in those countries.

Niebuhr, in the first volume of his Travels, giving an account of the observance of a Mohammedan festival called *Arafa*, or *Kurban*, and taking

* Vol. I. p. 70.

† See Vol. I. p. 106, 252.

notice that it lasts two or three days, and that the peasants during that time bring nothing to the market, so that every one is obliged to get on the vigil of the feast all the proper provisions for it, goes on to inform his readers,* that they bought for their Mohammedan domestics flour, sugar, and honey, for the making of cakes, as also a sheep; they were even provided with kaad.† Then, after giving a further account of the public manner of celebrating the festival, with a solemn procession and military exercises; he adds, “After which every one returned home, feasted, chewed kaad, burnt fragrant substances in his house, stretched himself at length on his sofa, and lighted his kiddre, or long pipe, with the greatest satisfaction.”‡

That the same obtained anciently among those in affluent circumstances, at least in times when they particularly enjoyed themselves, appears, I think, from the 16th of Ezekiel, ver. 13, 15, 18, 19. *Thus wast thou decked with gold and silver, and thy raiment was of fine linen, and silk, and broidered work; thou didst eat fine flour, and honey. and oil: and thou wast exceeding beautiful; and thou didst prosper into a kingdom. But thou didst trust in thine own beauty, and playedst the harlot, and tookest thy broidered garments, and cover-*

* P. 307. Voy. en Arabie, et en d'autres pays circonvoisins.

† This is a vegetable production the Arabians are very fond of chewing. He describes it in p. 299, where he tells us, they are young shoots of a tree, which the Arabians chew, as the Indians do their *betel*. He found them placed in little bundles on the sofa of the *Dola* of *Taüs*; but he remarks, that he could not relish this Arabian delicacy.

‡ P. 308.

edst them (thine idols:) and thou hast set mine oil, and mine incense before them. My meat also which I gave thee, fine flour, and oil, and honey, wherewith I fed thee, thou hast even set it before them for a sweet savour: and thus it was, saith the LORD GOD.

Here we see *honey* and *oil*, along with fine flour, used by this lady in her prosperity, as was prepared for their Mohammedan domestics in a time of Arabian rejoicing; and she is upbraided with giving to her idols what God had bestowed upon her for her own use and satisfaction, broidered garments, lamps of oil, and incense, as well as meat, fine flour, oil, and honey.

OBSERVATION XXXI.

Singular Method of inviting Persons to an Entertainment, in the East.

HASSELQUIST takes notice of what appears to us an odd custom in Egypt, which he supposes is very ancient, though he does not apply it to the illustration of any passage of Scripture; it seems, however, to be referred to by Solomon in the book of Proverbs.

He saw, he says, a number of women, who went about inviting people to a banquet, in a singular, and, without doubt, very ancient manner. They were about ten or twelve, covered with black veils, as is customary in that country. They were preceded by four eunuchs: after them, and

on the side, were Moors with their usual walking staves. As they were walking, they all joined in making a noise, which he was told signified their joy; but which he could not find resembled a joyful or pleasing song. The sound was so singular, as that he found himself at a loss to give an idea of it to those that never hear it. It was shrill, but had a particular quavering, which they learnt by long practice.*

The passage in Proverbs, which seems to allude to this practice, is the beginning of the ninth chapter: *Wisdom hath killed her beasts; she hath mingled her wine; she hath also furnished her table. She hath sent forth her maidens: she crieth upon the highest places of the city, Whoso is simple let him turn in hither: as for him that wanteth understanding, she saith to him, Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled.*

Here the reader observes, that the invitation is supposed to be made by more than one person; that they were of the female sex that were employed in the service; and that the invitation is supposed not to have been, as among us, a private message, but open to the notice of all. Whether it was with a singing tone of voice, as now in Egypt, does not, determinately at least, appear by the word here made use of, and which is translated *crieth*: *She crieth* (by her maidens) *upon the highest places of the city.*†

* P. 56.

† The Romans in the East; it seems, from the term made

It may not be improper to add, that though the Eastern people now eat out of the dishes oftentimes, which are brought in singly, and follow one another with great rapidity, not out of plates;* yet many lesser appendages are placed round about the table by way of preparation, which seems to be what is meant by the expression, *she hath also furnished her table*;† in one word, *all things were then ready*,‡ and the more distant kinds of preparation had been followed by the nearer, till every thing was ready, so as that the repast might immediately begin. The cattle were killed, the jars of wine emptied into drinking-vessels, and the little attendants on the great dishes placed on the table.

use of by St. Matthew, chap. xxii. 2. sent their invitations by *men-servants*; not *women*, as is the modern Egyptian practice: and, according to St. Luke, chap. xiv. 17. only *one* messenger, instead of many.

* Chandler, Russell, &c.

† A piece of red cloth, cut in a round form, is spread upon the divan under the table, to prevent that from being soiled; and a long piece of silk stuff is laid round, to cover the knees of such as sit at table, which has no covering but the victuals. Pickles, salads, small basins of leban, bread, and spoons, are disposed in proper order round the edges. The middle is for the dishes, which (among the great people) are brought in one by one; and after each person has eaten a little, they are changed. Russell, Vol. I. p. 172.

‡ Luke xiv. 17. where the expression may be understood after the same manner.

OBSERVATION XXXII.

Entertainments made in the open Air in hot Countries.

THE heat of the countries of the East is so great, that their inhabitants take great pleasure in repairing to places of shade, water, and verdure, to take a joyous repast there; and particularly at the times of their religious rejoicing.

“To fountains, or rivers,” Dr. Chandler tells us, in his Travels, “the Turks and the Greeks frequently repair for refreshment; especially the latter, on their festivals, when whole families are seen sitting on the grass, and enjoying their early or evening repast, beneath the trees, by the side of a rill.”*

Nor are they always cold collations on these occasions; for speaking of a Greek solemnity, which they call a *panegyris*, or general assembly, to which men and boys, women with infants, and persons decrepit from old age, repaired; he goes on to tell us: “It is the custom of the Greeks, on these days, after fulfilling their religious duties, to indulge in festivity. Two of their musicians, seeing us sitting under a shady tree, where we had dined, came and played before us. After satisfying them, we went up to the place, at which the Greeks were assembled. We were told it was a

* Travels in Asia Minor, p. 21.

place of great sanctity. The multitude was sitting under half-tents, with store of melons and grapes, besides lambs and sheep to be killed, wine in gourds and skins, and other necessary provisions." P. 44.

I do not know that the feast made by Adonijah pretended to have any connexion with religion; but in other respects it was like these modern entertainments: it was held near a well, or fountain of water, and there he slew sheep, and oxen, and fat cattle, and called his brethren, and the principal people of the kingdom to the entertainment, 1 Kings i. 9. It was not chosen for secrecy, for it was in the neighbourhood of the royal city,* but for pleasantness; it was not a magnificent cold collation; the animals, on the contrary, on which they feasted, were killed and dressed on the spot, for this princely repast. This last circumstance would appear very strange in a *fete champetre* of this country, but is perfectly in the modern Oriental taste.

There have been such alterations made in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, in the course of such a number of centuries, that we cannot pretend to judge, from what now remains, whether this entertainment was held under slight tents, or merely under the shade of the trees that grew there. The

* I cannot suppose the feast was held here for *secrecy*, though I am aware that En-Rogel was the place, in which two of the fast friends of King David had lain *hid* some time before: but it might be easy for two persons to lie concealed among trees and bushes by a fountain, when numbers could not; especially in holding a solemn feast.

modern Eastern people make use of both methods, as circumstances direct; but probably would choose the protection of a shady tree, rather than of a tent, if it might as easily be had.

Probably Isaiah refers to a practice of this sort, in those words of his xlixth chapter: *That thou mayest say to the prisoners, Go forth; to them that are in darkness, Shew yourselves. They shall feed in the ways, and their pastures shall be in all high places. They shall not hunger nor thirst; neither shall the heat or sun smite them: for he that hath mercy on them, shall lead them; even by the springs of water shall he guide them. And I will make all my mountains a way, and my highways shall be exalted.**

The thoughts of many people have been turned to the feeding of cattle by the way-side, and gathering their food on the hills, which, Dr. Shaw informs us, are the places most proper, in those countries, for the pasturing of cattle, on account of the springs of excellent water there, too much wanted, especially in the summer season, not only in the plains of the Holy Land, but of other countries in the same climate.† But it seems a more natural and easy interpretation, to understand the words of such pleasurable excursions, usual now in the East, and made use of in ancient times also. So a princess is represented in a sacred song as saying, *Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field: let us lodge in the villages; let us get up early to the vineyard, &c. Sol. Song vii. 11, 12.*

* Isai. xlix. 9, 10, 11.

† P. 240.

Thus the contrast will appear quite natural, as well as lively, in this passage of Isaiah, between shut up in prison, secluded from fresh air, and even the light itself, in unwholesome dungeons; and walking at liberty, enjoying the verdure, and the enlivening air of the country: passing from the tears, the groans, and the apprehensions of such a dismal confinement; to the music, the songs, and the exquisite repasts, of Eastern parties of pleasure.

It is readily acknowledged, that there is a harshness and roughness in some other images made use of by poets, that lived many ages ago, and in countries whose conceptions, as well as manners, so widely differ from ours; but there is no occasion to prefer such explanations, when others offer themselves that are as easy and natural, and at the same time give a view of such contrasted matters, as is by much the most lively and affecting.

I would only farther add, that there is no occasion to translate the original word by the English term *pastures*, which is appropriated to the places where cattle eat; the original words are of a much more general nature, and may be translated: "They shall take their repasts in the ways, and their eating-places shall be in all eminences," as the people of those countries, at this day, enjoy themselves, when on a party of pleasure, sitting at their collations under shady trees by the highway side; and near their springs of water, which most abound, as well as their trees, on their hills, according to Dr. Shaw. And answerable to the delicacy, as well as the plenty, of what is provided

for these joyous excursions, and also to the nature of their hills, the Prophet goes on, *They shall not hunger nor thirst; neither shall the heat or sun smite them*, (the suffocating hot winds which blow in their deserts; nor the fierce, and sometimes deadly rays of the mid-day sun, to which some have been exposed;) *for he that hath mercy on them shall lead them; even by the springs of water shall he guide them.*

Neither were they to be indulged only in such pleasing excursions in the land of their captivity, being brought out of prison, as one of the Jewish princes was by Evilmerodach,* king of Babylon, who not only brought him out of prison, but turned his sorrows into a state of consolation, setting his throne above the throne of the other kings that were with him in Babylon; but Isaiah, in the next verse, turns the thoughts of those that heard his predictions from these short excursions of pleasure to the more exquisite joy of returning to their own land.

Nor is it altogether improbable, that the Psalmist† might refer to such amusing little journies of the Jews in the land of their captivity, when he says, *By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down; yea, we wept when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof.* The sitting by the waters, and still more the mention of their harps, strongly inclines the mind to this conception: and the supposed contrast between the original design of these assem-

* Jer. lii. 31, 32.

† Ps. cxxxvii. 1—3.

blings, and the mournings into which they were in fact thrown, when they were led to remember Zion, would give a beauty and life to this passage, which otherwise do not appear.

Other travellers, as well as Dr. Chandler, mention their having music in these excursions; and the Doctor tells us, that he found the shepherds, that watched their sheep in a mountain to which he accidentally went, hung the things they wanted to make use of on a tree; so that the circumstance of hanging their harps on the willows that grew by the rivers of Babylon was quite natural, when the remembrance of the songs of the Temple made them burst into tears, and turned the intended merry-meeting into a scene of lamentation and wailing.

It is no objection to this, that the Jews were in a state of captivity in Babylon; for though some of their principal people might be kept in prison, and treated with harshness; yet the Prophet Jeremiah supposed numbers of them would be sufficiently at their ease, to admit the supposing they might go from time to time to shady places, near their rivers, to take a joyous repast. For in a prophetic letter which he wrote to the Jews in Babylon, he assured them they should obtain considerable degrees of favour in the land of their captivity; *Thus saith the LORD of Hosts, the GOD of Israel, unto all that are carried away captives, whom I have caused to be carried away from Jerusalem unto Babylon; Build ye houses, and dwell in them: and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them. Take ye wives, and beget sons and daughters: and take wives for your sons, and give your daughters*

to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters: that ye may be increased there, and not diminished. And seek the peace of the city, whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the LORD for it: For in the peace thereof shall ye have peace. Jer. xxix.

And though the Jewish law was understood to forbid their associating with those of another nation; yet these repasts being held by the way-sides, by fountains or rivers, numbers of the people of Babylon, passing by, might stop to hear the music, and might very naturally be understood to say, *Sing us one of the songs of Sion*, curious to hear what kind of melody had been made use of in the Temple. The word translated *required*, does not signify an authoritative order, but merely asking them in a manner consistent with friendliness and even complaisance. Galled, however, with such a request, they put an end to their music as soon as they well could, and hung their harps on the trees under which they sat.

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

In those out of Door Entertainments, any Passenger is invited to partake.

THE people of these countries not only enjoy themselves in forming parties of pleasure, which repose themselves under trees in warm weather, indulging themselves in eating and drinking there; but they frequently invite passengers to partake

with them in their repasts. The Prophet Zechariah seems to refer to these invitations in the close of his third chapter. *In that day, saith the Lord of Hosts, shall ye call every man his neighbour under the vine, and under the fig-tree.*

The words, in themselves, might be thought indeterminate; and it might be queried, whether they signified, that every one should call to his neighbours, who were sitting under trees for enjoyment and repast; or whether they signified, that every one that was sitting under such trees should call to those that passed by, to come and partake with them in their pleasures. But the usages of those countries lead us to apprehend, the last is the sense of the Prophet; and the words are capable of that construction.

Thus Dr. Richard Chandler, in his Travels in Asia Minor, tells us,* That a Greek at Philadelphia sent them a small earthen vessel full of choice wine; and that some families, who were sitting beneath some trees, by a rill of water, invited them to alight, and partake of their refreshments.

The taking their repasts thus in public expressed safety and pleasure; and the calling to passengers to partake with them, a spirit of friendliness and generosity. A state very contrary to that in which Israel had some little time before found themselves: *Son of man, said God to Ezekiel, I will break the staff of bread in Jerusalem; and they shall eat bread by weight, and with care, and they shall drink water by measure, and with astonishment,*

* P. 250.

Ezek. iv. 16, 17. And again, ch. xii. 18. *Son of man, eat thy bread with quaking, and drink thy water with trembling, and with carefulness; and say unto the people of the land, Thus saith the LORD GOD, of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and of the land of Israel, They shall eat their bread with carefulness, and drink their water with astonishment, that her land may be desolate from all that is therein, because of the violence of them that dwell therein.*

The half-starved Arabs of the Desert, without ceremony, sit down to eat with any that they happen to see taking their repasts; so the author of the Travels of Egmont and Heyman tells us, that when they were within an hour and a half of the convent of Mount Sinai, the Arabians of the neighbourhood came to congratulate them on their arrival; and, according to the custom of the country, set down by them; for whenever they see any eating or drinking, they join the company without the least ceremony.*

However dubious then the words of themselves may be, grammatically considered, they cannot well be understood as signifying every one's calling to, or addressing those that sat under trees taking their repast, since that, as in the case of the wild Arabs, would express want; but as expressing the liberality with which Israel, on their return, should invite all that came into their view, to share with them in the bounties of Providence, and the safety as well as plenty with which they should be surrounded.

OBSERVATION XXXIV.

*Fishermen in the East frequently land to dress
and eat their Fish on the Sea-Shore.*

PLUTARCH observes, that the Greeks frequently, for pleasure, took a repast on the sea-shore; and M. Doubdan has mentioned, his finding some of the inhabitants of the confines of the Holy Land enjoying themselves, in like manner, near the sea, eating and smoking there: which accounts, especially when put together, may give us the most exact view of what passed between our LORD and the disciples on the shore of the sea of Galilee, of which St. John has given us the history in the last chapter of his Gospel.

The substance of what Plutarch says is as follows: What do they mean, who, inviting one another to form a party of pleasure, say, Let us eat to-day on the sea-shore? Don't they shew that they consider an entertainment on the sea-shore as the most delightful? Certainly not on account of the waves and the pebbles there, but because they have the best opportunity of furnishing their table with plenty of fish, perfectly fresh.*

To this I would subjoin the account Doubdan gives, of what happened to him in a short voyage from St. John d'Acre to Sidon. They hired a fishing-boat for this voyage: through the indolence

* Symposiac. lib. iv. probl. 4.

of the seamen, who would not row, they got no farther than Tyre that night. In the morning, not being, as when they went to Jerusalem, in a boat, whose proper business it was to carry passengers, but at the mercy of four or five fishermen, who did nothing but cast their nets into the sea, most commonly without success, exposed to the burning heat of the sun by day, and severe cold in the night; they employed a poor Jew, who was with them in the barque, and who could speak a little of the language used by the Franks in that country, to call upon them to push forward, that they might arrive in good time at Sidon. But, contrary to their agreement, they immediately cast their nets into the sea, to procure themselves a dinner. Then they landed to dress their fish, and to eat it, after which they slept for more than two hours, while Doubdan, and those with him, were broiling with the scorching sun over-head, and the heated rocks underneath. Being put out again to sea, upon the promise of an augmentation of their pay, they took up their oars, and rowed with briskness, for four or five miles, in order to reach Sidon that same day. They then grew tired; and being inclined to return to their fishing, they put Doubdan and his companions on shore, where there was a very large and deep cavern, which had been hollowed by the violence of the waves, which enter it with fury upon the least wind that blows, and immediately applied themselves to cook some small fish with some rice, and, without speaking one word to Doubdan, carried all on board the bark, and went away toward the place from whence they came, so that they

lost sight of them in a few moments. This unexpected accident extremely astonished them; and what was worse, there were many Turks, Moors, and Arabs, of a variety of colours, in this cavern, of whom some were reclined on the sand, enjoying the fresh air; some were dressing provisions among these rocks; others were smoking tobacco; notwithstanding the apparent danger of the fall of great pieces of the rocks, which frequently happened: but it is common for them to retire hither on account of a spring of fine water, which glides along here, and is extremely cool.*

On these accounts I would make some remarks:

1st. That the Greeks were wont, not unfrequently, to eat a repast on the sea-shore; and that the Syrians, in the neighbourhood of the Holy Land, are wont to do the same, and people too that dwell in Syria of very different nations: Turks, Moors, and Arabs.

2dly, That whatever other delicacies the Greeks might carry with them, on occasion of these parties of pleasure, they were wont to make use of that opportunity, to regale themselves on the fresh fish that happened to be caught, or brought to shore, while they were there. And by what is said of these fishermen, the Syrians too are very fond of fish; as it appears, from the words of our LORD, the Jews of that time were: *If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? or if he ask a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent? If ye then, being*

* Voy. de la Terre-Sainte, chap. lxi.

evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more, &c.*

3dly, When the Eastern fishermen are disposed to eat, it seems they frequently eat some of their own fish which they have caught; but that they are wont to land in order to dress it, whereas our fishermen dress their food on board their vessels, at least generally.

In what light then, after making these remarks, must our LORD's visit to the Apostles appear, which is recorded in the beginning of the xxist of John?

If they first saw a man on the sea-shore, whom they did not immediately know, who appearing near a fire, asked them if they had caught any fish; was it not natural for them to suppose it was somebody who was a stranger to them, who was come to the sea-shore to enjoy the freshness of the air, and to regale himself with some new caught fish there? If so, the word *children*,† which he used, is to be understood as a familiar term made use of by a supposed superior to an inferior; and fishermen were looked upon as being of a very low profession.

There was nothing so particular in his being alone, and unattended by servants, as to fix their attention, and lead them to suspect something extraordinary in this. He might affect something of solitude, or expect company to join him, or he might be a traveller, for any thing they knew, who might choose to take his repast on the shore, as

* Luke xi. 11, 13.

† *Children*, have you any meat? The word does not mean flesh-meat, but have you caught any fish proper for eating?

companies of people did in excursions of pleasure. There were two travellers indeed that are described as regaling themselves by the side of the Tigris, on a fish newly caught, and which they roasted or broiled on some coals, of which mention is made in the book of Tobit;* but Jacob travelled all alone, when he went into Mesopotamia. They might then take him to be some traveller; or they might look upon him to be one belonging to a party of pleasure, sent beforehand to prepare matters for the rest that were to follow in due time; or one that, though unaccompanied, was resolved to enjoy the pleasures of the sea-side.

There appeared nothing extraordinary in his directing to throw the net on the right side of the ship, it being no unusual thing for people on shore to make signals to fishing-vessels, pointing out to them the way the shoals of fish are taking. Nor was it their taking fish, in consequence of the direction that our LORD gave them, that occasioned their apprehending it was he himself; but the astonishing number of large fishes they had inclosed in their net, which first occasioned John to apprehend it was JESUS.

Rocky eminences are frequently met with on the sea-shore, from whence there is a view to the seaward pretty extensive: there were such prominences on the shore on which the fishermen landed Doubdan, and where he found Moors and Arabs enjoying themselves, and which rocks Doubdan ascended when these Moors and Arabs began to look

* Chap. vi. 3, 5.

sourly upon them, from whence they descried their ship, and called to the people aboard to take them in;* and such there might be on this part of the shore of the sea of Gennesareth.

Nor will it occasion any great difference, if we should range these two circumstances in the contrary way: if we should suppose they first saw our LORD on some eminence by the sea-side; and afterwards, as they approached the land, in consequence of their success, saw a fire burning on the shore, and bread laid there, as if some person intended to regale himself.

It is neither necessary to suppose that the *Οψαριον* that the disciples saw, along with the bread, on the shore, was a fish; or that it lay upon the coals. Plutarch, in the place before cited, observed that there were various kinds of things that came under that Greek term, though fish was considered as the best sort. It might mean some other kind of delicious associate with bread: what in particular the Evangelist did not intend to express; nor can we know. On another occasion, the disciples gave our LORD a piece of a broiled fish, and of a honey-comb.† The honey-comb was one kind of *Οψαριον*, was then used, and might now be laid on the shore, for aught we know to the contrary.

For the word *ἐπικείμενον*, in the 9th verse, does not necessarily imply that the thing, whatever it was, lay upon the coals: it is sufficient if it lay not far from them. But whatever it was, and if we suppose actually lay upon the coals, it seems to me

* Voy. de la Terre-Sainte, p. 542.

† Luke xxiv. 42.

not very natural to understand the word as signifying a *fish*; for how odd must it appear to them, to have this person ask for fish, when he, at that very time, had fish broiling on the coals. It appears to signify some other sort of provision, of a kind to be eaten with bread.

An instance of an unnecessary limiting the meaning of words may be observed as to this very term: our translators here unnecessarily, and I think improperly, limit the meaning of the term to *fish*, when it appears to signify any proper adjunct to bread, at least of the delicious kind; and in the translation of John vi. 9. they limit the sense still more, and suppose the word signifies *little* fishes, when the historian says nothing of the *size*; nor would it lose the glory of being a miraculous repast, when five barley loaves, and two fishes, sufficed to feed five thousand people, and the fragments afterwards filled twelve baskets, though we should suppose they were two *karmuds*, or two of the *bonni* species; two kinds of fish which are found in the sea of Tiberias, and which are said to weigh near thirty pounds each. However they certainly were not so large, as they were brought thither for sale by a *little* lad, according to the import of the Greek word made use of there, though they might not be what we call small fishes.

When the nets were drawn on shore, he that called to them to know whether they had caught any thing, ordered them to bring some of the fish to him, for his use, which, as he appeared as a stranger, we are to suppose was done in conse-

quence of a purchase made of them; he then immediately applied himself to the preparing them for eating, while they were busied in clearing the net; and when the fish were broiled, and they began to be a little at leisure, he said to them, *Come and dine*, ver. 12. or take some refreshment after your toil this morning. This is quite in the present Arab taste, the Arabs inviting strangers to eat with them, and even those of figure asking people in very low life. Our LORD JESUS here expressed the same kind of generosity, mingled with humility: he all the while claiming no knowledge of them, nor they of him.

Had he not asked them to eat with him, they soon of course would have prepared for themselves: they had plenty of provisions; they were come to the shore, to which we find, by Doubdan, the fishermen of that country are wont to repair, when they are disposed to dress the fish they catch; and they had made a very abundant capture, and wanted not immediately to return to their fishing. But this stranger, by his generosity, made such care unnecessary on their part, having got a fire ready, and prepared bread: nothing was wanted, but the broiling the fish.

When it is said, ver. 4. *The disciples knew not that it was JESUS*, it means that they did not know at first sight, upon seeing him standing on the shore: when it is said, ver. 12. *None of the disciples durst ask, Who art thou? knowing it was the LORD*, it expresses their not being all perfectly satisfied it was their LORD, at the time of his inviting them to come and eat with him, while yet it was

unlawful for a Jew to eat with one of another nation,* and there was a mixture of Gentiles among them, particularly in Galilee;† yet they were apprehensive it might be JESUS, that none dared to express so much doubt of it as to ask the question: but when he came to take bread, and to give it to them, the like circumstance as caused the two disciples at Emmaus to recognise their LORD,‡ it is natural to suppose, produced the same effect in them here; and if there had been the least shadow of a doubt that remained, it must have been removed by the manner of his addressing Peter, *Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? He said unto him, Yea, LORD, thou knowest that I love thee. He said unto him, Feed my lambs, &c.* Accordingly, however unapprehensive they were of its being their LORD at first, St. John gives it as a fact, of which they were fully assured before our LORD retired.

I will only add, that by the story of Doubdan it appears, that the Eastern fishermen are disposed to put ashore, and eat fish early in the day, as well as towards evening.

* Acts x. 28.; ch. xi. 3.

† Called Galilee of the Gentiles, Mat. iv. 15.

‡ Luke xxiv. 35.

OBSERVATION XXXV.

Of their sitting on Heaps of Stones at their Feasts.

OUR version of Genesis xxxi. 46. represents Jacob's sitting, with his relations and friends, when he held a solemn feast, *on a heap of stones* :* one would be inclined to suspect the justness of the translation, as to this circumstance, of the manner in which he treated his friends ; but it is made less incredible, by the account Niebuhr has given us, in the first volume of his Travels, of the manner in which some of the nobles of the court of the Imam seated themselves, when he visited the prince at Sana of Arabia, his capital city.†

It is certain the particle *בְּ* (*ál*,) translated in this passage *upon*, sometimes signifies *near to*, or something of that sort : so it is twice used in this sense, Gen. xvi. *And the angel of the LORD found her by a fountain in the way to Shur.* So Gen. xxiv. 13. *Behold, I stand here by the well of water, and the daughters of the men of the city come out to draw water.* The same may be observed in many other places of the book of Genesis.

Consequently the sitting of Jacob and Laban, with their relations and friends, might be under-

* *And Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather stones: and they took stones, and made a heap; and they did eat there UPON the heap.*

† P. 339.

stood to have been only near the heap of stones, which was collected together upon this occasion, and designed for a memorial of present reconciliation, and reciprocal engagement to preserve peace and amity in future times: but their actual sitting on this heap of stones may perhaps appear somewhat less improbable, after reading the following passage of Niebuhr's Travels, relating to his being admitted to an audience of the Imam of Yemen.

“ I had gone from my lodgings indisposed ; and by standing so long found myself so faint, that I was obliged to ask permission to quit the room. I found near the door some of the principal officers of the court, who were sitting in a scattered manner, in the shade, upon stones, by the side of the wall. Among them was the nakib, (the general, or rather master of the horse,) Gheir Allah, with whom I had some acquaintance before. He immediately resigned his place to me, and applied himself to draw together stones into a heap, in order to build himself a new seat.”

This management to us appears very strange ; it might possibly be owing to the extreme heat of that time of the year in that country,* which made sitting on the ground very disagreeable ; it can hardly however be supposed, that they sat upon the heap of stones that had been gathered together on Mount Gilead,† for this reason, since

* The latter end of July. See also p. 271, where we have an account of their not sitting on the ground, in another part of Arabia, which is a burning sand.

† Gen. xxxi. 21.

high grounds are cooler than those that lie low;* since it was in spring-time, when the heat is more moderate, for it was at the time of sheep-shearing:† but it might be wet, and disagreeable sitting on the ground, especially as they were not furnished with a sufficient number of carpets, pursuing after Jacob in a great hurry; and several countries furnishing stones so flat as to be capable of being formed into a pavement, or seat, not so uneasy as we may have imagined. Mount Gilead might be such a country. It might also be thought to tend more strongly to impress the mind, when this feast of reconciliation was eaten upon that very heap that was designed to be the lasting memorial of this renewed friendship.‡

As for the making use of *heaps of stones* for a *memorial*, many are found to this day in these countries, and not merely by land, for they have been used for sea-marks too. So Niebuhr, in the same volume, tells us of a heap of stones placed upon a rock in the Red Sea, which was designed to warn them that sailed there of the danger of the place, that they might be upon their guard.§

* This is a remark made by Niebuhr, over and over again, in this volume of his Travels.

† Gen. xxxi. 19.

‡ Gen. xxxi. 48—52.

§ P. 208.

OBSERVATION XXXVI.

Manner in which the Copts eat their Victuals.

SONNINI observes, " In many respects the Copts take their meals in the same manner as the Turks and Arabs. They are seated, with their legs across, round a table with one foot, in the shape of a large circular tea-board, on which are placed the dishes, without either table-cloth, plates, knives, or forks. They put the right hand into the dishes, from which they successively help themselves with their fingers, each according to his particular taste. The left hand, being destined for ablutions, is *unclean*, and must not touch their food. Sometimes they collect in one dish what they have taken from several, in order to form a mess, worked up in a big ball, which they convey to their very widely-extended mouth. The poultry and the boiled meats are divided and pulled to pieces with the hands and nails. The roast meats are served up in small bits, cut before they are put upon the spit: and no where is better roast meat eaten than in Turkey. No conversation is carried on at table: as they sit down at it only to eat, they lose no time, but swallow with the greatest precipitation. They are not men assembled for the sake of enjoying the pleasure of society, but animals collected round their food by want and voracity. The grease runs down from each side of their mouth; the stomach emits frequent eructations, which they prolong and render

as noisy as they can. He whose hunger is soonest appeased, rises first: and it is not considered as unmannerly to remain alone at table, if a person's appetite is not completely satisfied."—EDIT.

OBSERVATION XXXVII.

Method of cultivating Rice in different Parts of the East Indies, to which frequent allusion is made in the Sacred Writings.

THE grounds on which rice is sowed, are of three kinds, *wet land*, or that watered artificially, and producing what are called wet crops, or grains; *dry field*, or that which receives no artificial supply of water, and which produces dry crops.

The soil of the *Ashta Gram* (one of the villages near *Seringapatam*) is considered as of four different kinds, the fertility of which is great according to the order in which they are enumerated. First, a very black soil, containing a large proportion of clay, and called *Eray*, *Crishna*, or *Mucutu*. Secondly, a very red soil, containing also a very large proportion of clay, and called *Cababy*, or *kempu bumi*. These two sometimes contain a few small pebbles, or loose rounded stones, without injuring the quality of the land. Thirdly, *Marulu* is a light brown coloured soil, with a large proportion of sand. This also may contain loose nodules of stone without injury to its quality. Fourthly, *Daray*, which consists of much sand, and angular

nodules of stones, so compacted that the plough penetrates it with difficulty: to avoid circumlocution, I shall frequently use these native terms.

The farmers of the *Ashta Gram* have annually two crops on their wet grounds; one crop grows during the rainy season, and is called *Hainu*, and also the male crop, being supposed to be the stronger; the other crop is called *Caru*, and female, and grows in the dry season. The grounds are of course formed into terraces, quite level, and surrounded by little banks for the purpose of irrigation. The plots of watered grounds, owing to the considerable declivity of the country, are very contracted, and irregular in shape: but by means of small channels leading from the grand canals, or from reservoirs, they can, at the pleasure of the cultivator, be either filled with water, or allowed to be dry.

Throughout India there are three modes of sowing the seed of rice, from whence arise three kinds of cultivation. In the first mode, the seed is sown dry on the fields that are to rear it to maturity: this I call the *dry seed* cultivation; at *Seringapatam* it is called the *Bara butta*, or *Puneji*. In the second mode, the seed is made to vegetate before it is sown; and the field, when fitted to receive it, is reduced to a puddle: this I call the *sprouted cultivation*; at *Seringapatam*, it is called the *Molla butta*. In the third kind of cultivation, the seed is sown very thick in a small plot of ground; and, when it has shot up to about a foot high, the young rice is transplanted into the fields where it is to

ripen: this I call the cultivation by *transplanting*; the farmers of the *Ashta Gram* call it *Nati*.

The *Hainu* cultivation of rice, being here the principal crop, shall engage the chief part of our attention.

The higher fields are cultivated after the *dry seed* manner of sowing; the lower grounds are reserved for the *sprouted* and *transplanted* cultivations. By far the most common seed used is the *doda butta*, a coarse grain, like that which, in Bengal, is by the English called *cargo rice*.

In the *Hainu* crop the following is the management of the dry seed cultivation. During the months *Phalguna*, *Chaitra*, and *Vaisakha*; that is, from the 14th of February till the 23d of May, plough twice a month; having, three days previous to the first ploughing in *Phalguna*, softened the soil by giving the field water.

After the fourth ploughing, the field must be manured with dung, procured either from the city or the cow-house. After the fifth ploughing, the field must be watered, either by rain, or from the canal; and three days afterwards the seed must be sown broad-cast, and then be covered by the sixth ploughing. And the rain, that happens to fall for the first thirty days after sowing the seed, must be allowed to run off by a breach in the bank which surrounds the field; and should much rain fall at this season, the crop is considerably injured. Should there have been no rain for the first thirty days, the field must be kept constantly inundated, till the crop be ripe; but if there have been occa-

sional showers, the inundation should not commence till the forty-fifth day. Weeding, and loosening the soil about the roots of the young plants with the hand, and placing them at proper distances, when sown too close, or too far apart, must be performed three times; first, on the forty-fifth or fiftieth day; secondly, twenty days afterwards; and, thirdly, fifteen days after the second weeding. These periods refer to the crops that require seven months to ripen. In rice which ripens in five months and a half, the field must be inundated on the twentieth day; and the weedings are on the twentieth, thirtieth, and fortieth days.

In the *Hainu* crops the following is the manner of conducting the sprouted-seed cultivation. The ploughing season occupies the month of *Ashadha*, or from the twenty-second of June till the twenty-second of July. During the whole of this time, the field is inundated, and is ploughed four times; while at each ploughing, it is turned over twice in two different directions, which cross each other at right angles. This I shall call a double ploughing. About the first of *Scravana* (twenty-second of July,) the field is manured, immediately gets a fifth ploughing, and the mud is smoothed by the labourer's feet. All the water, except one inch in depth, must then be let off, and the prepared seed must be sown broad-cast. As it sinks in the mud, it requires no labour to cover it. For the first twenty-four days, the field must once every other day have some water; and must afterwards, until ripe, be kept constantly inundated. The weedings are on the twenty-fifth, thirty-fifth, and fiftieth days.

In order to prepare the seed, it must be put into a pot, and kept for three days covered with water. It is then mixed with an equal quantity of rotten cow-dung, and laid in a heap, in some part of the house, entirely sheltered from the wind. The heap is well covered with straw and mats; and at the end of three days, the seed, having shot out sprouts about an inch in length, is found fit for sowing. This manner of cultivation is much more troublesome than that called *dry seed*: and the produce from the same extent of ground is both nearly equal; but the *sprouted seed* cultivation gives time for a preceding crop of pulse on the same field, and saves a quarter of the seed.

The manner of reaping and preserving all the kinds of rice is nearly the same. About a week before the corn is fit for reaping, the water is let off, that the ground may dry. The corn is cut down about four inches from the ground with a reaping hook, called *Cudugalu*, or *Cudagu*. Without being bound up in sheaves, it is put in small stacks, about twelve feet high; in which the stalks are placed outwards, and the ears inwards. Here the corn remains a week, or, if it rain, fourteen days. It is then spread out on a thrashing-floor, made smooth with clay, cow-dung, and water; and is trodden out by driving bullocks over it. If there has been rain, the corn, after having been thrashed, must be dried in the sun; but in dry weather this trouble is unnecessary. It is then put in heaps called *Rashy*, which contain about 60 *Candacas*, or 334 bushels. The heap, as I have before mentioned, is marked with clay, and

is carefully covered with straw. A trench is then dug round it, to keep off the water. For twenty or thirty days, till the division of the crop between the government and the cultivator takes place, the corn is allowed to remain in the heap.*

The *Hainu* crop which grows in the rainy season is commonly *Gyddā*, or *Doda Byra*; and the former also most usually composes the crop of the dry season, except where the *Doda Byra* has preceded it: in which case, some of the kinds that are more quick of growth must be used. The grains that require six or seven months take two more ploughings than those that come to maturity in less time, which is the only difference in the process of cultivation. The only cultivation in use here† is the *Mola* or sprouted seed. In order to cultivate *Gyddā Byra* in the rainy season, the field is watered in the month preceding Midsummer; and then, having been drained, it is ploughed first lengthwise, and then across. Next day the double ploughing is repeated, and the field is inundated. On the fifth day the field is again drained, the double ploughing is repeated, and then the water is admitted. These steps are repeated on the eighth, eleventh, and fourteenth days. At the third or fourth double ploughing, the field is manured with dung; and immediately after the last of it is smoothed with a plank drawn by oxen (*Maram*), sown broad-cast with the prepared seed, and then covered two inches deep with water. On the third day

* Dr. Buchanan's journey from Madras through the Mysore, &c. Vol. I. p. 83, &c.

† *Kellamangalam* in the Mysore.

after sowing, the field is drained, and sprinkled with dry dung, which has been rubbed to dust. On the fifth day, an inch of water is admitted, and ever afterwards the field is inundated; the depth of water being increased as the rice grows, and care being taken that the young plants should be never entirely covered. On the twentieth day the field is harrowed with the rake, drawn by oxen; and on the thirtieth, fortieth, and ninetieth days, the weeds are removed by the hand. At this last weeding all superfluous stalks are destroyed by pinching them between the toes. When ripe, this crop is cut up with the straw and put up in heaps. Next day, it is trodden out by oxen. The straw is sometimes spoiled by the rain, and thrown into the dunghill; but at other times, it is preserved for fodder.

The cultivation for the crop raised in the dry season, is quite similar to that before described; but the ploughing season is different. The straw of this crop is always well preserved, which renders it valuable; but the quantity of grain is smaller.

On good soils, the crop raised in the wet season produces forty-fold of *Gyddda Byra*, or almost forty-five bushels an acre, worth 1*l.* 19*s.* 4½*d.* In the crop cultivated in dry weather, on good soils, the produce is thirty seeds, or rather more than thirty bushels and a half for each acre. The rice of both crops keeps equally well, and is of equal value.*

* See Dr. Buchanan's journey from Madras through Mysore, &c. Vol. III. p. 445, &c.

OBSERVATION XXXVIII.

Strange Method of eating among the Arabs.

THE Arabs, in eating their milk, use no spoons. They dip their hands into the milk, which is placed in a wooden bowl before them, and so sup it out of the palms of their hands. Le Bruyn* observed five or six Arabs, who were eating milk together after this manner, on the side of the Nile, as he was going up that river to Cairo, and was astonished at it; but it is common in those countries; and d'Arvieux informs us, that they eat their pottage in the same manner.†

It is not reasonable to suppose, that the same usage obtained anciently among the Jews, and that Solomon refers to it when he says, Prov. xix. 24. *A slothful man hides his hand in the dish*, (בצלחת *betsallachath*), and will not so much as bring it to his mouth again? Our translators, indeed, render צלחת the *bosom*, and Arias Montanus the *arm-pit*; but it is confessed,‡ that the word, every where else, signifies a *pot*, or *dish*, or something like it, and can only by a metaphor be applied to the bosom, or arm-hole. That which has induced the learned to depart from the well known meaning

* Tom. I. p. 586. Dr. Russell observes, (MS. note,) that the Arabs near Aleppo use *spoons* made of wood and horn.—
EDIT.

† Voy. dans la Pal. p. 205.

‡ See Bishop Patrick's Argument before Prov. xix.

of the word, and to put upon it a metaphorical, and I am afraid we may say a whimsical sense, has been, their not being able to conceive what could be meant by *hiding* the hand in the dish; and the supposing there was some resemblance between a dish and the bosom, or the arm-pit: but this circumstance, which travellers have mentioned, makes that perfectly clear, which appeared so obscure. The slothful man, having lifted up his hand full of milk or pottage, to his mouth, will not do it a second time; no, though it be actually dipped into the milk or pottage, he will not submit to the great fatigue of lifting it again from thence to his mouth. Strong painting indeed this; but perfectly in the Oriental taste.*

To this may be added, that Solomon repeats this maxim with some variation of expression, ch. xxvi. ver. 15. but retains the word צֶלֶת, which has been translated *bosom*. This would induce one to suppose he did not use it in such a very remote and metaphorical sense, as has been imagined, since the proper word, חֵיק *chik*, quite different from this, is used in other places, where there was occasion to speak of the hand's being in the bosom. See in Psa. lxxiv. 11. in particular.

* I much doubt the propriety of this illustration, and think it far from solid. The Arabs, in eating, do not thrust their whole hand into the dish, but only their thumb and two first fingers, with which they take up the morsel *lukme*, and that in a moderate quantity at a time. I take the sense therefore to be, that the slothful man, in place of taking up a moderate mouthful, thrusts his *hand* into the *pillaw*, or such like, and takes a *handful* at a time, in order to avoid the trouble of returning frequently to the dish. Dr. R.'s MS. note in loc.—EDIT.

But, perhaps, that part of the history of Gideon, that supposes very few would be disposed to use *water* after this manner, may be thought an objection to the applying this account of the modern Arabs to the ancient Israelites. *And the LORD said unto Gideon, The people are yet too many: bring them down unto the water, and I will try them for thee there—every one that lappeth of the water with his tongue as a dog lappeth, him shalt thou set by himself; likewise every one that boweth down upon his knees to drink. And the number of them that lapped, putting their hands to their mouth, were three hundred men: but all the rest of the people bowed down upon their knees to drink water,* Judges vii. 4, 5, 6. Had it been so common with the Israelites to take up liquids in the palms of their hands, as it is with the Arabs, would this have been a proper means to reduce their number in any considerable degree? Would there have been only three hundred out of ten thousand that lapped?*

This may be thought specious; but the objection is by no means solid. The Arabs *lap their milk*, and *pottage*, but not their *water*.† On the contrary,

* Dr. Russell says, (MS. note) I think this passage obscure: they who bowed down upon their knees must have lapped like dogs; not the others who took up the water with their hands. Both modes are not uncommon in passing brooks and rivulets.—
EDIT.

† “It is *water* only that I have seen them take up in this way, (says Dr. Russell, *ibid.*) not milk or pottage which they eat with spoons, or else sop up with bread.” The drinking out of leather bottles, is when they have water preserved.—EDIT.

d'Arvieux tells us, that after they have eaten, they rise from table, and go and drink large draughts out of a pitcher, or, for want of that, out of a leather bottle, which they hand to one another round and round.* Few of the Israelites, if they did in common sup their milk and pottage out of their hands, as the Arabs do, would have been disposed to lap water in the same manner, if they drank too as the Arabs now drink.

Two considerations more will complete the illustration of this part of the history of Gideon. The one is, that the Eastern people are not wont to drink *standing*. Busbequius, the Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople, in his celebrated letters concerning the Eastern people, affirms this in a very particular manner;† the other, that the lapping with their hands is a very expeditious way of taking in liquids.‡ D'Arvieux, in that accurate account of the Arabs of Mount Carmel, expressly

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 205.

† Ep. 3. pag. 169, 170. Aquam—*cessim* subsidentes biberent. Turcis enim bibere aut vesci aut urinam facere stantibus, nisi quid cogat, *religio est*; sed hæc faciunt ita demissis coxis, ut apud nos reddituræ lotium mulieres.

‡ “They are not restrained in their choice,” says Dr. Russell (MS. note.) When they take water with the palms of their hands, they naturally place themselves on their hams, to be nearer the water; but when they drink from a pitcher, or gourd, fresh filled, they do not sit down on purpose to drink, but drink standing, and very often put the sleeve of their shirt over the mouth of the vessel, by way of strainer, lest small leeches might have been taken up with the water. It is for the same reason they often prefer taking the water with the palm of the hand, to the lapping it from the surface.—EDIT.

takes notice of this, observing that this may be the reason why spoons are so universally neglected among the Arabs, as a man would eat upon very unequal terms with a spoon, among those that use the palms of their hands instead of them.*

Until I met with this passage of Busbequius, I could not tell what to make of that particular circumstance of the history of the Jewish Judge, that all the rest of the people *bowed down upon their knees* to drink water. It appeared to me rather the putting themselves into an attitude to *lap* water, than any thing else; as I supposed the words signified that they kneeled down by the side of some water in order to drink. But the matter is now clear: three hundred men, immediately upon their coming to the water, drank of it in the quickest manner they could, in order to be ready without delay to follow Gideon; the rest took up water in pitchers, or leather-bottles, or some kind of vessel; and bending down so as to sit jointly upon their heels and knees, or with their knees placed upright before them, either of which might be called bowing their knees to drink, though the last is the posture Busbequius refers to, they handed these drinking-vessels with ceremony and slowness from one to another, as they were wont to do in common, which occasioned their dismissal. So two and twenty thousand of those that were faint-hearted were first sent away; then all the rest, excepting three hundred men of peculiar alacrity and dispatch, the most proper for the busi-

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 205.

ness for which they were designed, but visibly unequal to the task of opposing the Midianites : and, without some miraculous interposition of God, absolutely unequal.

OBSERVATION XXXIX.

Butter and Honey used as a Breakfast among the Arabs.

It is surprising that so celebrated an author as Alting should imagine these words of the Prophet,* *butter and honey shall he eat, &c.* are expressive of a *state of poverty* ; yet Vitringa, in his commentary on them, assures us this is his sentiment.

The Old Testament so often speaks of *honey and milk* as emblems of *plenty* ; and the connection between *butter and milk* is so obvious, that few, I believe, have embraced his opinion. It will not however be amiss, to cite a passage or two from d'Arvieux's account of his journey to the Grand Emir's camp, to establish this point, especially as it will give occasion to other reflections.

D'Arvieux being in the camp of that Arab prince, who lived in much splendor, and treated him with great regard, was entertained, he tells us,† the first morning of his being there, with little loaves, *honey, new-churned butter*, and loaves of cream,‡ more delicate than any he ever saw, to-

* Isa. vii. 15.

† Voy. dans la Pal. p. 24.

‡ A delicacy in use in France, which the English translator expresses by cheese-cakes, though I have been assured they are different things.

gether with coffee. Agreeably to this, he assures us in another place,* that one of the principal things with which the Arabs regale themselves at breakfast is *cream*, or new *butter*,† *mingled with honey*; a mixture, he observes, which seems odd, but which experience proves not to be bad.

According to him, then, *butter and honey* is an exquisite breakfast among the Arabs, and presented by princes to those they would honour with great distinction; consequently nothing is more unhappy than the thought of Alting.

Every one's eating *butter and honey*, (of the poor people that should be left in the land,) mentioned Isa. vii. 22. is by no means contrary to this account of d'Arvieux; it apparently signifies the plenty in which those should live there that survived the desolation of that country, and continued in it when laid open and become common. The Prophet expressly says, the eating of butter was to be the consequence of abundance of milk.

The account that is given of the diet of John the Baptist may be thought a much stronger objection. He lived on locusts and wild *honey*; and his way of life is represented by our LORD as the very reverse of those who dwell in kings' courts; nay, as very different from his own; consequently honey and locusts must be thought to have been then reckoned very coarse sorts of food, whatever honey may now be among the Arabs. But the force of this difficulty lies in taking for granted,

* P. 197.

† I suspect this, says Dr. Russell, (MS. note) to be *kaymak*.—EDIT.

what is not to be admitted, that the management of John was like the affected rigor, and pompous abstinence, of some superstitious hermits ; whereas the account we have of him only expresses great simplicity—that he contented himself with what nature offered him in those retreats. This, to those that expected the Messiah's should be an earthly kingdom, and those that were concerned in introducing it, great men after the manner of this world, might well be pointed out by our LORD as a thing extremely observable.

There is a passage in Rauwolff* that greatly illustrates this explanation, in which, speaking of his passing through the Arabian deserts, he says, “ We were necessitated to be contented with some slight food or other, and make a shift with curds,† cheese, fruits, *honey*, &c. and to take any of these, with bread, for a good entertainment. The honey in these parts is very good, and of a whitish colour, whereof they take in their caravans and navigations great leather bottles full along with them ; this they bring you in small cups, and put a little butter to it, and so you eat it with biscuits. By this dish, I often remember St. John the Baptist, the forerunner of our LORD, how he also did eat honey in the deserts, together with other food. Besides this, when we had a mind to feast ourselves, some ran, as soon as our master had landed at night, to fetch some wood ; and others in the mean time made a hole in the ground on the shore,

* P. 149.

† I suspect, says Dr. Russell, (MS. note) that the *curds* here, mean *leban* dried.—EDIT.

in the nature of a furnace, to boil our meat. So every company dressed accordingly what they had a mind to, or what they had laid up in store ; some boiled rice, others ground corn, &c. And when they had a mind to eat new bread, instead, or for want of biscuits, they made a paste of flour and water," &c. Rauwolff speaks of honey, fruits, curds, and cheese, as sorts of food that they were obliged to make a shift with ; and he opposes them to those eatables on which they sometimes feasted, but certainly not because these things were in themselves coarse and mortifying ; for he tells us, the honey was very good ; and elsewhere* speaks of the bringing some of these things† to the Eastern tables, as delicacies at the close of their entertainments : but he considers them, when alone, as being a slight sort of food, and which people are not wont to be pleased with without something of a more solid kind. Such, doubtless, was the character of the Baptist's abstemiousness, not pompous, affected, and brutal, like that of the hermits of superstition, (who more resemble Nebuchadnezzar, in his distraction, than the forerunner of our LORD) ; but perfectly natural, as living among the people of the Wilderness, contenting himself therefore with a way of life sparing as theirs, and perhaps more visibly dependent on what Providence presented than even they, instead of living in abundance and profusion, after the manner of those that dwelt in kings' palaces, or eating bread and meat, and drinking wine, as our LORD did.

* P. 98.

† Cheese and fruits.

This explanation will, at the same time, remove a difficulty, that might otherwise arise from what modern authors have told us, of the agreeableness of the taste of *locusts*, and their being frequently used for food in the East: Dr. Shaw observing,* that when they are sprinkled with salt, and fried, they are not unlike, in taste, to our fresh-water cray-fish; Russell saying,† the Arabs salt them up, and eat them as a delicacy,

Even this *clothing of hair* is mentioned by Rauwolff as in common use in those deserts; and he says, that he himself, in his travels among that people, put on a frock of this kind.‡ There was nothing then in John of excessive rigour; nothing of an ostentatious departing from common forms of living, in order to indulge in delicacies, like those St. Jerom blames in that letter to Nepotian I have already cited;§ but, retiring into the deserts for meditation and prayer, he lived with great simplicity, after the manner of the inhabitants of those places, both with respect to dress and food.

But to proceed.—Nothing more is understood by us, in common, when we read those passages that speak of eating butter and honey, than the eating separately of each of them; but the modern Arabs, according to Rauwolff and d'Arvieux,

* P. 188.

† P. 62.

‡ P. 123 and 156. These garments, however, were made of the hair of goats and asses, whereas the clothing of John was of camel's hair, Matt. iii. 4.: they were not then exactly alike, but agreed in general in being of *hair-cloth*. The Reader will find this circumstance resumed in another place,

§ P. 472.—Observation X, Vol. I.

often mix them together, especially when they would regale their friends more deliciously than usual, according to the last-mentioned observer: and there is reason to think this is only retaining an ancient usage, and that the eating butter and honey in the Prophet means, the eating them mingled together.

Their account furnishes us with one correction more, and that is, that butter and honey are used by grown-up people, and are by no means appropriated to children: those learned men then, among whom is Archbishop Usher, who consider butter and honey, in Isa. vii. 15. as signifying infant's food,* attach an idea to the words which seems to have nothing to do with them. Indeed, it is more probable, that they signify the contrary, and should rather be thus translated, "Butter and honey shall he eat, when he shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good:" that is, though now Judah is terribly harassed, and that occasions scarcity; when this child shall be grown up to be able to distinguish between good and evil, both these kings shall be cut off, and this country shall enjoy such plenty, that it shall produce, as usual, a sufficiency of butter and honey for the support of its inhabitants.

* See Lowth upon the place.

OBSERVATION XL.

Honey not wholesome to Europeans in the East.

BUT delicious as honey is to an Eastern palate, it has been thought sometimes to have produced terrible effects. So Sanutus* tells us, that the English that attended Edward I. into the Holy Land, died in great numbers, as they marched, in June, to demolish a place ; which he ascribes to the excessive heat, and their intemperate eating of fruits and honey.

This, perhaps, may give us the thought of Solomon, when he says,† *It is not good to eat much honey.* He had before, in the same chapter, mentioned that an excess in eating honey occasioned sickness and vomiting ; but, if it was thought sometimes to produce deadly effects, there is a greater energy in the instruction.

But however that be, this circumstance seems to illustrate the prophetic passage, which speaks of a book sweet in the mouth as a morsel of honey, but bitter after it was down‡ producing pain, bitter as those gripings the army of Edward felt in the Holy Land, from eating honey with excess : for, of such disorders as are the common effects of intemperateness as to fruit, in those climates, Sanutus

* Gesta Dei per Francos, Vol. II. p. 224.

† Prov. xxv. 27.

‡ Rev. x. 9, 10.

appears to be speaking, and the bloody-flux, attended with griping pains, is well known to be the great complaint.*

OBSERVATION XLI.

Flavour of Honey peculiarly excellent, when just expressed from the Combs.

THERE is no difference made among us, between the delicacy of honey in the comb, and after its separation from it, we may therefore be at loss to enter into the energy of that expression, *Sweeter than honey, and the honeycomb*, Ps. xix. 10. ; or, to express it with the same emphasis as our translation does the preceding clause, *Sweeter than honey, yea, than the honeycomb* ; which last, it should seem, from the turn of thought of the Psalmist, is as much to be preferred to honey, as the finest gold is to that of a more impure nature.†

But this will appear in a more easy light, if the diet and the relish of the present Moors, of West Barbary, be thought to resemble those of the times of the Psalmist : for a paper published first in the

* Honey, like other sweet things, is generally supposed to produce *bile*, and on this account acids are often joined with it.—EDIT.

† Whoever has eaten honey newly taken out of a honeycomb, or chewed the fresh honeycomb before the cups or cells have been opened, must know that there is then felt a peculiar delicacy of flavour, which will be sought for in vain after the honey has been for any length of time *expressed* or clarified.—EDIT.

Philosophical Transactions, and after that by Dr. Halley, in the *Miscellanea Curiosa*,* informs us, that they esteem honey a wholesome breakfast, “and the most delicious that which is in the comb, with the young bees in it, before they come out of their cases, whilst they still look milk-white, and resemble (being taking out) gentles, such as fishers use: these I have often eat of; but they seemed insipid to my palate, and sometimes I found they gave me the heart-burn.”

This, however, is hardly all: there should be something more in it than this, if the present Moorish practice be allowed to be explanatory of the ancient Jewish diet, since there are no fewer than three very different Hebrew words translated honey-comb by us;† and in a language so little copious as that is, it would be very extraordinary if they should all signify precisely the same thing; and especially when there is such a variety of things of this kind.

The Septuagint translator of the book of Canticles supposes bread is meant by the honey-comb of Cant. v. 1. And the ingenious Dr. Shaw seems to imagine that the honies, as he calls them, of grapes, of the palm-tree, (or of dates,) and of the reed, (that is sugar,) were of such an antiquity, as to be referred to in the days of Moses, as well as that of bees. That paper too in the *Miscellanea Curiosa* gives us to understand, that honey may be called by different names, according to its

* Vol. III. p. 382.

† These are יַעַר *yaar*, נֹפֶה *noph*, and צִפֹּף *tsuph*: see the conclusion of this Observation.—EDIT.

different natural or artificial qualities : for its author tells us, that when he was at Suse, he had a bag of honey brought him by a friend, who made a present of it to him, as being of great esteem, and such as they present to men of greatest note among them, telling him, he was to eat a little of it every morning to the quantity of a walnut. It was thick as Venice treacle, and full of small seeds. He breakfasted upon it several mornings, and found it always made him sleepy, but agreed very well with him. The seeds were of the bigness of mustard ; and, according to the description of them to him, and the effects he found from eating honey and them, they must have been a large sort, he says, of poppy-seed. “ The honey was of that sort they call in Suse *izucanee*, or *origanum*, which the bees feed on, and these seeds were mixed with.”

As then there are so many sorts of honey, as there are three distinct Hebrew words translated honey-comb, and as that language is so little copious, it must surely be more natural to suppose those three terms signify different things, than one and the same. But what ? is a difficult question.

The rob of grapes, of which, Shaw tells us, near two thousand quintals are annually sent from Hebron alone to Egypt, is, probably, unconcerned in this enquiry. It is readily allowed, that it is now consumed in great quantities ; and that its name, *dibs*, is nearly the same with the Hebrew word *debash*, which signifies honey, a circumstance which the Doctor also mentions. Other

authors also* speak of this part of the Eastern diet very frequently, and sometimes nearly under the same name. Yet I very much question its being known in the time of Moses; for the writers of antiquity, of whom some have mentioned the honey of dates, and of reeds, have, so far as I know, been altogether silent about it. Perhaps it would never have been thought of, had wine been allowed there in common, as it was anciently. But, however, that it was unknown in the time of Moses, is sufficiently plain, from his precepts concerning the Nazarites. They were forbid the use of every thing produced by the vine: moist grapes, raisins, wine, vinegar, are distinctly mentioned, but not a word about the honey of grapes; and though the law does not content itself with forbidding wine and vinegar, but expressly forbids the drinking any liquor of grapes, there is an absolute silence about eating its inspissated juice, though it is now one of the chief things made from the vine. And as it seems not to have been in use in the days of Moses, it was, for any thing that appears to the contrary, equally unknown in all the times of the Old Testament.

The carrying down Joseph a present of the best things of the land, a little *balm*, and a little *dibs*, (Gen. xliii. 11.) is mentioned by Dr. Shaw as a proof that the rob of grapes was in use very

* Dr. Russell, in his Hist. of Aleppo, calls it *dibbs*, and speaks of it as commonly used at Aleppo for food. Olearius mentions it in his account of Persia; and Bp. Pococke in his first Vol. concerning Egypt, under the name of *becmes*.

anciently; for honey, properly so called, could not be so great a rarity there, he thinks, as dibs must be, from the want of vineyards in Egypt. But I do not know that Jacob, in choosing that present, fixed on things that were most uncommon in Egypt, but those that were thought in Canaan valuable things, and proper for a present to great men. *Take of the best fruits in the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present*, are the precise words of the Patriarch: now it appears from the paper in the *Miscellanea Curiosa*, the honey of bees, especially one sort of it, is at this day given as a present to persons of the greatest note; and it appears from 1 Kings xiv. 3. that it was thought a proper present anciently. But setting this consideration aside, as to the greater rarity of the honey of grapes in Egypt, it is impossible to determine which was most plentiful in that country, in those times. It is certain it is naturally the produce of woody countries; and Egypt is not, and, we have reason to believe from its marshy situation never was, a well-wooded country; if then, art had not interposed in the days of Jacob to make hives for the bees, and they had honey only from hollow trees, the honey of bees might be as great a rarity in Egypt, as the honey of grapes, (for they had some vineyards there soon after, or at least a number of vines, Ps. cv. 33.) supposing with the Doctor this inspissated juice was then in use, which does not appear to be the fact. This sort of honey then ought to be out of the question.

The honey of the palm-tree, or of dates, ap-

pears to be more ancient : for Josephus tell us* it was copiously produced about Jericho, and inferior, though not much, to common honey, which was also plentiful there. The much older writer too of the second book of Chronicles is commonly understood by interpreters, to mean this honey of dates, ch. xxxi. 5. which gives an account of the first fruits of the increase of the field. This relation of Josephus concerning this sort of honey differs from that given us by Dr. Shaw,† according to whom it has more luscious sweetness than proper honey, and is so esteemed as to be made use of by persons of better fashion upon a marriage, at the birth or circumcision of a child, or any other feast or good-day. The manner also in which this kind of honey is procured, according to his account, seems to be different from that of the country and age of Josephus,‡ which difference may be the cause that the one reckons it better, and the other worse, than the honey of bees ; but be that as it will, Josephus must be supposed to give the most authentic account of the Jewish palm-tree honey, and of the esteem it had in that country.

As to the honey of reeds, or, in other terms, sugar, it is now produced in Egypt : and the green reeds, or canes, are in high esteem there,

* De Bello Jud. lib. 4. cap. 8. Ed. Hav. † P. 143.

‡ The people of Barbary, according to Dr. Shaw, cut off the top of the tree, and receive the sap in a sort of bason they have scooped in the top of the trunk ; but Josephus seems to suppose this honey was got by pressure.

according to Dr. Pococke, who assures us, * the people of that country eat great quantities of them, and esteem it a great dessert : he adds that they frequently eat their bread broken into small pieces, and put into a sort of syrup made of the cane ; and that, besides some coarse loaf-sugar, and sugar-candy, they make some very fine sugar, which they send to Constantinople to the Grand Seignior, and make it only for that purpose. The Croisade writers,† in like manner, speak of these reeds, under the name of *calamelli*, or *canamellæ*, as growing in those times near Tyre, and other places in Syria. From these, the Archbishop of Tyre tells us, sugar is produced, a most precious thing for human use, and very necessary for the health of men ; as another of those authors remarks, that it is looked upon by the natives of that country as a delicacy, and appears to the taste to exceed the honey-comb in sweetness and healthfulness, adding, that some suppose it was the sort of honey that Jonathan, the son of Saul, found, and tasted of. No one, I believe, will be ready to adopt that last sentiment : the *canamellæ* grow not in woods ; nor would it have been so natural, if they had, for him to have made use of the rod in his hand, for the taking some of their juice. They might, however, be known to David and to Solomon, or what was produced from them : not that we are to imagine, that they grew in the time of those princes in Judea, or in Egypt, or in Syria ; it does not appear they did so in the time of our

* Vol. I. p. 183—204.

† Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 270, 304, 401, 835.

LORD. Some moderns, it has been said, suppose those of that time had no knowledge at all of sugar ; but it has been shewn, on the contrary, that several of them were acquainted with it :* but at the same time, it sufficiently appears, by the imperfect accounts of those very authors, that the plant did not at that time grow in so near and well-known a country as either Egypt, Syria, or Judea. Dioscorides, the Cilician, who lived a little time after the death of our LORD, in a passage cited by Dr. Shaw himself,† expressly mentions sugar as a thing he was acquainted with, but as a production of India and Arabia the Happy : supposing, if I understand the passage aright, that sugar-canes grew in this Arabia, where sometimes the sugar was found congealed upon the canes ; but that manufactured sugar came from India. If it was not a production of Judea in the time of our LORD, it is reasonable to believe it never was in the ages that preceded his : it was too delicate a thing, in the esteem of the Eastern people, to be abandoned.

David and Solomon, however, might be acquainted with it. We are to remember they were mighty princes, greatly revered by foreign nations, and their influence of great extent ; as such presents were made them, according to the Eastern mode, by distant nations, consisting of things of the most curious kind, some of which Judea never before saw : *And she gave the king, says the sacred historian, an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of*

* Voy. le Dictionnaire des Drogues, par Mons. Lemery, Art. Saccharum.

† P. 339.

spices great abundance, and precious stones ; neither was there any such spice as the queen of Sheba gave king Solomon, 2 Chron. ix. 9. Sugar, in some form or other, might, along with those other things, be presented to Solomon, and, on the like account, by some nation or other to David his father, to whom, we know, many great presents were also made, 1 Chron. xviii. ; as fine sugar is at this day sent to the Grand Seignior by the Egyptians, and honey was anciently by Jacob, as one of the best things of the land he inhabited, to a viceroy of Pharaoh.

From these data, the knowing nothing anciently of the honey of grapes, the honey of dates not being so good as proper honey, and sugar much better, with this, that sugar, or the *canamella*, might be known to David and Solomon, we may draw some probable conclusions, concerning the meaning of the words rendered by our translators honey-comb.

Yaareth haddebash, עֵרֶת דְּבַשׁ is, I presume, the *honey-comb* properly speaking, for it is used for the receptacle of the honey in the wood, into which Jonathan dipped the end of his rod, it being probably in some hollow tree, and not otherwise to be come at, 1 Sam. xiv. 27. Nor does its being used Cant. v. 1. *I have eaten my honey-comb with my honey*, contradict this: understood of the honey-comb properly speaking, the *Miscellanea Curiosa* may furnish us with a comment on the words ; or the Septuagint translator of the Canticles may be supposed to interpret it, who thinks it signifies *bread* in that place, bread, we are to ima-

gine of a particular kind, somewhat like Dr. Shaw's *bag-reak*, which, he tells us,* is a pancake made like to honey-comb, by rubbing the ta-jen with soap instead of butter. צֶפֶת דְּבַשׁ *tzuph debash*, used Prov. xvi. 24. and Ps. xix. 10. is, I suppose, the name given the plant that produces one of the other kinds of honey: and when I consider that only David and Solomon speak of this; that the Psalmist supposes its droppings are as much preferable to honey, as refined gold to unrefined; and compare the words of the other sacred writer, *Pleasant words are as an honey-comb*, or as the honey-tzuph, “sweet to the soul, and health to the bones,” with those expressions of William the Archbishop of Tyre,† “It produces canes, from whence sugar is made, one of the most precious things in the world for the use of men, and extremely necessary for their health.” I am very much inclined to think those two passages speak, the one of the sugar or syrup of that plant, the other of the cane itself.

The *honey of dates*, which, though inferior to that of bees, is, it seems, very pleasant, is left to answer the other word, נֹפֶת *nopheth*, which occurs in Prov. v. 3. ch. xxiv. 13, ch. xxvii. 7. Cant. iv. 11. Or that word may be applied by my reader to any of the other varieties of honey he may meet with, and which he may think more answerable to the meaning of the word, and the description that may be drawn from these passages.

* P. 230.

† Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 835. Nutriat—Canamellas, unde preciosissima usibus et salutis mortalium necessaria maxime, conficitur zachara.

OBSERVATION XLII.

Of their Honey-Pots.

AMONG the varieties made by our English potters, one sort of particular shape, is called a honey-pot; the ancient Jewish potters seem to have had a like distinction among them.

Honey is a thing of which flies, wasps, ants, &c. are so fond, that they must soon have found a necessity of taking some particular care to guard against their depredations; and must therefore have found it requisite to make the vessels, designed for the preservation of their honey, of a particular shape; whether the same with that made use of by our English potters, or not, is of no consequence to us to determine.

Bakbuk בַּבּוּק seems to have been the Hebrew name of the vessel. The 1 Kings xiv. 3; shews it was a vessel used for honey; as Jer. xix. 1, 10, 11. shews that it was an earthen vessel.

Our translators seem to have been unhappy, in rendering the word *bakbuk* by the term *bottle*. A vessel with a small mouth, which is what is meant by the word bottle, is not proper for a substance so glutinous, and so apt to candy as honey: whatever kind of vessel then it was, it certainly was not a bottle. At the same time the force and liveliness of the image is extremely impaired: Go, said the Lord to Jeremiah, get a potter's earthen honey-pot; and taking of the ancients of the

people, and of the ancients of the priests, break the pot in their sight; and say unto them, Thus saith the LORD of Hosts, Even so will I break this people and this city, as one breaketh a potter's vessel, which cannot be made whole again, i. e. though the people that dwelt here in former times have been grateful to me as honey is to men, their habitation shall be destroyed totally, and their posterity cast out of my sight.*

OBSERVATION XLIII.

Different Kinds of Delicacies used in the East.

ST. JEROM† reckons wine, liquamen, fish, and eggs, along with honey, in his catalogue of delicacies. Perhaps then, when told the disciples gave our LORD a piece of broiled fish, and of a honey-comb, Luke xxiv. 42; we, who have been ready to look upon it as a strange association of dishes, if understood of proper honey-comb, and not of a sort of bread, have suffered this surprise from not entering into the views of the disciples. They probably not attending to any order,—

. . . so contriv'd as not to mix

Tastes, not well join'd, inelegant; but bring

Taste after taste, upheld with kindest change,‡

as Eve did, according to Milton, but only designing to express their great veneration for him, by

* Prov. xxiv. 13. Ezek. xvi. 13. Gen. xliii. 11.

† In Epitaphiâ Paulæ, Vol. I. p. 176.

‡ Paradise Lost, B. v. 334—336.

setting before him the most grateful* things in their power, leaving it to him to eat of which he pleased.

I am not sure that there was no view, in like manner, to the delicacy of eggs, in the words of our Lord, Luke xi. 11, 12; where he speaks both of fish and eggs. It may on the contrary, perhaps, add to the beauty of the passage, if we understand it as signifying, If a child should ask an earthly parent for *bread*, a necessary of life, he will not deny him what is necessary for his support, putting him off with a *stone*; and if he should ask him for a sort of food of the more delicious kind, a *fish* or an *egg*, he will not, we may assure ourselves, give his child what is hurtful, a *serpent* or a *scorpion*; if sinful men then will give good gifts to their children, how much more will your Heavenly Father give the necessary and the more extraordinary gifts of his Spirit to them that supplicate for them? not giving up to hurtful illusions those that affectionately pray for the hallowing his name, and the coming of his kingdom, which petitions involve in them the asking for the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, v. 20.

* So the Arabs set all they have before their guests, however discordant their natures, eggs, honey, curds, &c. that every one may eat as he likes. Voy. dans la Pal. p. 125 and 128. So pillaw, broth, beans, sour cream, and honey, were set before Egmont and Heyman by the Arabs of the Holy Land. Vol. II. p. 4. Pillaw, dishes of meat, soup, honey, &c. constituted an entertainment at Tiberias, p. 35.

Dr. Russell remarks, that these things are not set down at once, but are brought on in *succession*. EDIT.

But whatever might be the view of our Lord, it is certain St. Jerom was right in putting eggs into his list of Eastern delicacies :* for nothing is more common than to meet with eggs in modern entertainments there, when they would treat persons in the most respectful manner. So Dr. Pococke describes a very grand morning-collation, given in Egypt to a person of distinction, as consisting of the best sort of bread made with butter, fried eggs, honey, green salt cheese, olives, and several other small things. Vol. I. p. 57. He mentions also eggs very often, in the accounts he gives of the entertainments made for him by the Sheiks in the Holy Land. Agreeably to which Mons. d'Arvieux tells us that a supper prepared by the peasants of a village near Mount Carmel, for him and for their Governor, and attended with all the marks of respect they were capable of expressing, consisted of wine, fried fish, eggs, and some other things.†

It must be their reputed delicacy also, one would imagine, that occasions them frequently to

* Even Plutarch mentions eggs, along with bread made of sifted flour, and a preparation of grain unground, as delicacies among the ancient Greeks, in his book de Animi Tranquillitate.

However this may be in other places, Dr. Russell asserts, that eggs are not delicacies in Syria. A person eating an egg at breakfast, in England, would be considered either as an epicure, or as one who required more delicate treatment than ordinary. Yet in Ireland, boiled eggs are uniformly brought to table, and most people eat one at least. This is a common custom in all genteel families. EDIT.

† Voy. dans la Pal. p. 29.

be sent to persons of figure for presents, in those countries ; fifty eggs being sent at one time to the English Consul whom Pococke attended to Cairo, and a hundred at another.*

OBSERVATION XLIV.

Potted Flesh made use of by Travellers in the East.

THE flesh that travellers in the East frequently carry along with their other provisions, is usually potted, in order to preserve it fit for use. Dr. Shaw† mentions it as part of the provision he made for his journey to Mount Sinai, which commonly is not completed under two months ; nor does he speak of any other sort of meat which he carried with him.

In some such way, doubtless, was the meat prepared that Joseph sent to his father for his viaticum, when he was to come into Egypt, *ten asses laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten she-asses laden with corn, and bread and meat, for his father by the way.* But meat is by no means necessary for an Eastern traveller ; and especially for so short a journey as Jacob had to take ; and still less for one who was to travel with considerable quantities of cattle, as we know Jacob

* Travels into the East by Dr. Pococke, Vol. I. p. 17.

† Pref. p. 11. What I have seen, says Dr. Russell, (MS. note,) *pasterma*, is not *potted*, but is more like *smoked beef*. They have sausages also. EDIT. 1

did, Gen. xlv. 6, 32; who, consequently, could kill a goat or a kid, a sheep or a lamb, for himself and his company, whenever he pleased: it was therefore, in consequence, rather sent as a piece of respect, and as a delicacy; and so in another letter of St. Jerom's, that father speaks of potted flesh* in this light, which therefore may be added to his preceding catalogue of dainty meats.

There are other ways, however, in these hot countries of potting flesh for keeping, besides that of contusion, mentioned by St. Jerom, and practised in our country. Jones, in that paper of the *Miscellanea Curiosa*† I cited in a preceding Observation, gives us this description of the Moorish *elcholle*,‡ which is made of beef, mutton, or camel's flesh, but chiefly beef, and which "they cut all in long slices, salt it well, and let it lie twenty hours in the pickle. They then remove it out of those tubs, or jars, into others with water; and when it has lain a night, they take it out, and put it on ropes in the sun and air to dry;§ when it is thoroughly dried, and hard, they cut it into pieces, of two or three inches long, and throw it into a pan, or cauldron, which is ready, with boiling oil and suet sufficient to hold it, where it boils

* *Revera non poterat Deus conditum ei merum mittere et electos cibos, et carnes contusione mutatas.* Ep. ad Eustoch. Vol. I. p. 137.

† Vol. III. p. 388, 389.

‡ Or, *alchollea*. Phil. Trans. Abr. Vol. III. Part II. ch. iii.

§ 36.

§ This is what Dr. Russell calls *pasterma*. EDIT.

till it is very clear and red, if one cuts it ; which taken out, they set to drain : when all is thus done, it stands to cool, and jars are prepared to put it up in, pouring the liquor they fried it in upon it ; and as soon as it is thoroughly cold, they stop it up close. It will keep two years ; it will be hard, and the hardest they look on to be best done. This they dish up cold, and sometimes fried with eggs and garlic, sometimes stewed, and lemon squeezed on it. It is very good any way, either hot or cold."

OBSERVATION XLV.

Different Kinds of Game esteemed Delicacies in the East.

I do not know whether St. Jerom any where speaks of wild animals as delicacies ; but it should seem that Isaac and the Ancients thought them so, as well as the Moderns. What Esau caught for his father, I am not able to say ; but antelopes, Shaw tells us,* abound in Syria, Phœnice, and the Holy Land ; and Russell observes that though in the sporting season they are lean, yet they have a good flavour ; and in summer, when fat, they may vie even with our venison in England.†

The hunting of partridges is expressly mentioned in another passage of Scripture;‡ and

* P. 347.

† P. 54.

‡ 1 Sam. xxvi. 20.

the account Dr. Shaw gives us, of the manner of doing it by the Arabs, ought to be set down, as it is a lively comment on that Scripture, which is not, however, taken notice of by that ingenious author. “The Arabs have another, though a more laborious method of catching these birds; for, observing that they become languid and fatigued after they have been hastily put up twice or thrice, they immediately run in upon them, and knock them down with their *zerwattys*, or bludgeons, as we should call them.*” It was precisely in this manner Saul hunted David, coming hastily upon him, and putting him up from time to time, in hopes he should at length, by frequent repetitions of it, be able to destroy him.

Egmont and Heyman give an account of the manner of taking snipes in the Holy Land, very much like the Arab way of catching partridges.† They say, that if the company be numerous they may be hunted on horseback, as they are then never suffered to rest till they are so tired that you may almost take them in your hand. But snipes delight in watery places. David therefore being in dry deserts, might rather mention the partridge, of which there are more species than one in the East, some of which, at least, haunt mountainous and desert places.‡

* P. 236.

† Vol. II. p. 49, 50. These snipes they found not far from St. John d’Acre. They mention them before as found in great numbers near the sea of Tiberias, p. 37.

‡ See Egmont and Heyman, Vol. II. p. 171, 172, 244; and Hasselquist, p. 130.

OBSERVATION XLVI.

Shoulder of Lamb a Delicacy in the East.

IF from the *wild* we proceed to the *tame* animals, I would observe that the shoulder of a lamb is thought in the East a great delicacy.

Abdalmelick the Caliph,* upon his entering into Cufah, made a splendid entertainment. "When he was sat down, Amrou, the son of Hareth, an ancient Mechzumian, came in; he called him to him, and placing him by him upon his sofa, asked him what meat he liked best of all that ever he had eaten. The old Mechzumian answered, an ass's neck well seasoned, and well roasted. You do nothing, says Abdalmelick; what say you to a leg or a shoulder of a sucking lamb, well roasted and covered over with butter and milk?† The history adds, that while he was at supper, he said, How sweetly we live, if a shadow would last! This prince then thought the shoulder of a sucking lamb one of the most exquisite of dishes; and what he says explains Samuel's ordering it to be reserved for the future king of Israel, 1 Sam. ix. 24, as well as what that was which was upon it, the butter and the milk, which circumstance the sacred historian distinctly mentions. An European reader is apt to wonder what it should

* See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, Vol. II. p. 277.

† Probably *leban* is meant, which is a little acid, and is esteemed a very good sauce. EDIT.

mean, which added so much to the delicacy of the meat, that an Eastern prince, as well as an Eastern author, was led distinctly to mention it.

This, and a number of the other observations I have been making, may be thought of no great consequence; nor is it pretended that they are; but they may prevent some improprieties which cannot but be disagreeable to so curious and accurate an age as this. Who, that has read the history of Abdalmelick, can read, without pain, the description that is given us of this transaction of Samuel's life; by so considerable a prelate as Archbishop Bramhall, in a celebrated place, on a remarkable occasion, and before a great audience? * When Saul was to be inaugurated king by Samuel, *he set nothing before him but a shoulder*, 1 Sam. ix: a mean dish for a royal entertainment. According to Abdalmelick, he could not have set a more delicious one before him. The Archbishop goes on to remark, that some found a mystery in this dish, which he says they might better have called an allegory, containing some instruction for a prince relating to government. This, as will appear to those that shall take the pains to peruse the passage is built upon the supposition that the breast is what is meant by the sacred historian, when along with the shoulder, he mentions that which was upon it: a common supposition this, but probably a false one.

* At York Minster, before his Excellency the Marquis of Newcastle, about to meet the Scotch army.

OBSERVATION XLVII.

Fat Lambs esteemed a Delicacy in the East.

Amos reckons *fat lambs* among the delicacies of the Israelites ;* and it seems these creatures are in the East extremely delicious.

The last observation related to the shoulder of a lamb ; this relates to their whole bodies. It takes in kids also.

Sir John Chardin, in his manuscript note on Amos vi. 4. expresses himself in very strong terms on the deliciousness of these animals in the East. He tells us, that there, in many places, lambs are spoken of as a sort of food excessively delicious. That one must have eaten of them in several places of Persia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and of their kids, to form a conception of the moisture, taste, delicacy, and fat of this animal ; and as the Eastern people are no friends of game, nor of fish, nor fowls, their most delicious food is the lamb and the kid.

This observation illustrates those passages that speak of kids as used by them for delicious repasts, and presents ;† as well as those others that speak of their feasting on lambs. It also gives great energy to our apprehensions of what is meant, when the Psalmist talks of *marrow and fatness*.

* Amos vi. 4.

† Judges xv. 1.

1 Sam. xvi. 20.

Luke xv. 29.

OBSERVATION XLVIII.

How Strangers are entertained in the East.

OCKLEY, in a note on that piece of history concerning Abdalmelick, mentioned in the last Observation but one, observes that the Arabians had not altered their cookery since Abraham's time, who made use of butter and milk when he entertained the angels, Gen. xviii. 8. The fact is certainly true, that the customs of the Arabs are not altered; but this circumstance of Abdalmelick's entertainment, compared with Abraham's, does not prove it; the Patriarch's milk and butter might be for another purpose; the above mentioned passage of Samuel's history is much more certainly illustrated by it. However, it may be necessary to consider that patriarchal collation a little distinctly, not only on this account, but for another purpose.

Abraham was sitting in his tent-door in the heat of the day; three men presented themselves to him, and he invited them to eat with him; the Angels accepted the invitation; upon which he ordered a beast to be killed for their repast, and cakes of bread to be made. This, in a family like that of Abraham, who lived like a prince in that country, appears to us very extraordinary. We are ready to imagine this great emir should have a variety of eatables ready prepared for his own table, and for the entertainment of such strangers as he should

think fit to invite to eat with him.* A calf, however, is killed, and presented to these strangers, with butter and milk. This is the story : was the butter melted in the milk, and poured over this meat, likewise the sauce of Abdalmelick's lamb ? or was butter set upon the table as one distinct dish, and milk as a second, to attend on the calf, the principal part of the collation ?

A passage from la Roque's account of the journey of Mons. d'Arvieux to the camp of the great emir,† will shew, that Ockley's thought is not so certain as he seems to have imagined. This account of la Roque describes first the hospitality of those Arabs that live in the camp, as Abraham did ; and then of those villages that depend upon them, and are under their direction : it appears to be much the same in both ; and the only reason why I cite the account that he gives of the hospitality of the Arabs in their villages, is, because it is more large and distinct. It is as follows :

“ When strangers enter a village, where they know nobody, they enquire for the Menzil,‡ and

* Abraham had already dined, and there was time enough to kill meat for supper. Fresh meat is not preserved from meal to meal, in the East, but is fresh dressed at each repast ; the residue of the former meal being always consumed by the attendants and servants. Fresh meat cannot be long preserved in the East, in warm weather.—EDIT.

† Voy. dans la Pal. p. 124—129.

‡ The Menzil signifies the place destined for the reception of strangers, and often a lower apartment of the Sheekh's house.

منزل *Manzal* is used both by Arabic and Persian writers to

desire to speak with the Sheekh, who is as the lord of it, or at least represents his person, and the body of the community : after saluting him, they signify their want of a dinner, or of supping and lodging in the village. The Sheekh says they are welcome, and that they could not do him a greater pleasure. He then marches at the head of the strangers, and conducts them to the Menzil, where also they may alight at once if the Sheekh is not at home, and ask for every thing they want. But they seldom have occasion for all this ; for as soon as the people of the village see any strangers coming, they inform the Sheekh of it, who goes to meet them, accompanied by some peasants, or by some of his domestics ; and having saluted them, asks if they would dine in the village, or whether they choose to stay the whole night there : if they answer they would only eat a morsel and go forward, and that they choose to stay under some tree a little out of the village, the Sheekh goes, or sends his people into the village, to cause a collation to be brought ; and in a little time they return with eggs, butter, curds, honey, olives, fruit fresh or dried, according to the season, when they have not time to cook any meat." He afterwards tells us, that if it is evening, and the strangers would lodge in the village, that the women belonging to the Sheekh's house having observed the number of the guests, " never fail to cause fowls, sheep, lambs,

signify an inn, caravanserai, or house of public entertainment, and not a particular part of a private habitation.—EDIT.

or a calf to be killed, according to the quantity of meat which will be wanted for the entertainment of the guests, and of those that are to bear them company; and quickly make it into soup, roast it, and form out of it many other ragouts after their way, which they send to the Menzil by the Sheekh's servants, in wooden bowls, which they place on a great round straw mat, that usually serves them for a table.—These dishes being set in order, with many others in which are eggs, cheese, fruit, salad, sour curdled milk, (i. e. *leban*) olives, and all that they have to treat their guests with, which they set before them at once, that every one may eat as he likes; the Sheekh begs of the strangers to sit round the mat, he himself sitting down with them,* together with the other peasants of fashion belonging to the village, in order to do them honour—They make no use of knives, at table, the meat being all cut into little bits."

We see here Abraham's hospitality and his man-

* Dandini assures us, that among the Maronites, if any one eats in another's house, it is the master of the house that waits, and serves every one with his glass, so that he has no manner of repose at the table, ch. xi. What Abraham did, Gen. xviii. 8. if our translation be just, seems more to resemble this practice of the Maronites, than the account of the Arabs: but it is not impossible, that what Dandini observes might be a compliment to him as *nuncio*, not the common custom; and Abraham's attitude may be intended to express the extreme reverence with which he treated the angels.—This conjecture, says Dr. Russell (MS. note,) is just. The Christians, in their own houses, often wait themselves on their guests of superior rank: but otherwise, they sit down and are served by their sons, or kinsmen.—EDIT.

ner of receiving his guests under a tree. We see too in what manner the Arabs now present butter and milk on such occasions: and if there is no alteration in their customs, Abraham presented them as distinct dishes, butter and sour curdled milk being particularly mentioned among the dishes they present alone, when they have no time to dress meat, and which they set upon the table as side or additional dishes, when they have.* On the other hand, though butter and milk were poured over the dish that was so delicious to the palate of Abdalmelick, I do not remember to have ever read, that they pour it over those small roasted bits of meat which the Arabs present to strangers.†

La Roque's account of them in a following chapter‡ is, that the Arabs seldom eat roasted meat; that sometimes, at the emir's, they roasted lambs and kids whole, (not goats, as the English translation renders it;) and as for mutton or beef, they cut it into small pieces, about the bigness of a walnut, salt and pepper them; then, having put them on iron skewers of a foot long, they roast them over a small charcoal fire, and serve them up with chopped onions. Le Bruyn mentions the

* "Butter," says Dr. Russell (MS. note), "is seldom or never eaten with bread as we do in England; but it serves for the rice, or for frying of eggs. It is served very expeditiously in platters made of cow-dung."—EDIT.

† They very commonly pour *leban* over their roast meat. I have not observed, says Dr. Russell, that butter is ever set down by itself. *Leban* indeed is often put over every thing, as roast lamb or kid.—EDIT.

‡ Chap. xiv.

onion used by the Eastern people in roasting their beef, and says they cut the meat into little bits, sticking them on a little spit, with a slice of onion between each, which renders them extremely delicate.* Russell speaks of the roasting meat in these little bits as the common way at Aleppo; and Pockocke in Egypt, where they are called ka-bobs, or kab-abs.

We may perhaps have wondered how Abraham came to think of killing a calf, for the entertainment of strangers that only proposed to stop for a short refreshment; but the custom of roasting and seething meat in very small pieces, made it appear a much more practicable thing to Abraham than it may have done to us when we have read the passage.†

The Arabs however do not this in common; and often in such cases content themselves with presenting to their guests a cold collation; nor indeed do they often kill a calf in those countries, the Turks esteeming it a folly, and indeed a sin, according to Maillet,‡ to slay an animal so small, which may be, at its full growth, of such value: both circumstances concur to prove the great liberality of Abraham.

We have had occasion before to remark, that the Eastern people bake their bread as they want it: this account teaches us that they kill their cattle in like manner, just before they eat them, the

* Tom. I. p. 427.

† In this case we may consider the whole family as partaking of the feast in compliment to the strangers.—EDIT.

‡ Let. 9.

strangers arriving before their creatures die that are to afford them food. That old Puritan author was very unlucky therefore, in his declamation against the plentiful way of living of our English bishops, in citing Ahimelech's being without any other bread than the shew-bread, when David asked him for an immediate supply of provisions. Abraham was without bread or meat when these visitants came to him ; yet Abraham was very rich, long before this, in cattle, in silver, and in gold. (Gen. xiii. 2.) It was the custom of the country merely that occasioned this.

This Observation then teaches us, that it is most probable that Ockley's account of the butter and milk Abraham presented to the angels is wrong ; and it gives the reader an account of the small pieces in which the Eastern people stew and roast their meat, which is supposed in this story concerning the Patriarch.

OBSERVATION XLIX.

Roasted and stewed Meat, Delicacies among the Arabs.

ALL roasted meat is a delicacy among the Arabs, and rarely eaten by them, according to la Roque ; *stewed meat* also is, according to him, only to be met with among them at feasts, and great tables, such as those of princes,* and consequently a de-

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 197, 198.

licacy also: the common diet being only boiled meat, with rice-pottage and pillaw.

This is agreeable to Dr. Pococke's account of an elegant entertainment he met with at Baalbeck, where he tells us they had for supper a roasted fowl, pillaw, stewed meat, with the soup, &c. ;* and of a grand supper prepared for a great man of Egypt, where he was present, and which consisted, he tells us, of pillaw, a small sheep boiled whole, a lamb roasted in the same manner, roasted fowls, and many dishes of stewed meat in soup, &c.†

This soup in which the stewed meat is brought to table, or something very much like it, was, we believe, the broth that Gideon presented to the Angel, whom he took for a mere mortal messenger of God. Many a reader may have wondered why he should bring out his broth: they may have been ready to think it would have been better to have kept that within, and have given it to the poor after the supposed prophet, whom he desired to honour, should be withdrawn. But these passages explain it: the broth, as our translators express it, was, I imagine, the stewed savoury meat he had prepared with such sort of liquor as the Eastern people, at this day, bring their

* Vol. II. p. 113.

† Vol. I. p. 57.—Dr. R. says, the *broth*, شوربا *Shoorba*, is usually the first thing brought to table, *pillaw* the last. The *stewed meat* is done with gourds, &c., and with sauces of various kinds. The *stewed meat in soup* I take to have been boiled *rubby*, which are often so served up.—EDIT.

stewed meat in, to the most elegant and honourable tables.

What then is meant by the flesh put into the basket, Judg. vi. 19.? *And Gideon went in and made ready a kid, and unleavened cakes of an ephah of flour ; the flesh he put in a basket ; and he put the broth in a pot, and brought it out to him under the oak, and presented it.* The preceding quotations certainly do not decypher this perfectly ; but I have been inclined to think, there is a passage in Dr. Shaw that entirely unravels this matter, and affords a perfect comment on this text. It is in his preface :* “ Besides a bowl of milk, and a basket of figs, raisins, or dates, which upon our arrival were presented to us, to stay our appetites, the master of the tent where we lodged fetched us from his flock (according to the number of our company) a kid or a goat, a lamb or a sheep, half of which was immediately seethed by his wife, and served with cuscasoe ; the rest was made kab-ab, i. e. cut into pieces and roasted ; which we reserved for our breakfast or dinner next day.”

May we not imagine that Gideon presenting some slight refreshment to the supposed prophet, according to the present Arab mode, desired him to stay till he could provide something more substantial for him ; that he immediately killed a kid, seethed part of it, made kab-ab of another part of it ; and when it was ready, brought the

* P. 12.

stewed-meat in a pot, with unleavened cakes of bread which he had baked; and kab-ab in a basket for his carrying away with him, and serving him for some after-repast in his journey? Nothing can be more conformable to the present Arab customs, or a more easy explanation of the text; nothing more convenient for the carriage of the reserved meat than a light basket. So Thevenot informs us he carried his ready-dressed meat with him in a maund.*

What others may think of the passage I know not; but I never could, till I met with these remarks, account for his bringing the meat out to the Angel in a basket.

As for Gideon's leaving the supposed Prophet under a tree, while he was busied in his house, instead of introducing him into some apartment of his habitation, and bringing the repast out to him there, we have seen something of it under the last Observation. I would here add, that not only Arabs that live in tents, and their dependants, practise it still; but those also that live in houses, as did Gideon. Dr. Pococke frequently observed it among the Maronites, and was so struck with this conformity of theirs to ancient customs, that he could not forbear taking particular notice of it:† Lay-men of quality and Ecclesiastics, the Patriarch and Bishops, as well as poor obscure Priests, thus treating their guests.‡

* Part I. p. 162.

† Vol. II. p. 96.

‡ P. 95, 96. 104.

OBSERVATION L.

Of their Pottage in the East.

THEIR common pottage is made by cutting their meat into little pieces, and boiling them with rice, flour, and parsley ; all which is afterwards poured into a proper vessel. This, in their language, is called Shoorba.*

Parsley is used in this Shoorba, and a great many other herbs in their cookery.† These are not always gathered out of gardens, even by those that live in a more settled way than the Arabs : for Russell, after having given a long account of the garden-stuff at Aleppo, tells us, that besides those from culture, the fields afford bugloss, mallow, asparagus, which they use as pot-herbs, besides some others which they use in salads.

This is the more extraordinary, as they have such a number of gardens about Aleppo, and will take off all wonder from the story of one's going into the fields, to gather herbs, to put into the pottage of the sons of the Prophets, 2 Kings iv. 39., in a time when indeed Ahab, and doubtless

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 199.

† Parsley, says Dr. Russell, (MS. note) is cultivated, and generally spread on the shoorba. Dandelion, sorrel, &c. are often used. The shoorba, however, has not always pieces of flesh in it.—EDIT.

some others, had gardens of herbs; but it is not to be supposed things were so brought under culture as in later times.*

So the Misnah, a book relating to much later times, speaks of gathering herbs of the fields to sell in the markets.†

OBSERVATION LI.

*Seldom use Flesh Meat, but live on Milk,
Pulse, &c.*

THE quantity of meat in this pottage is small: and, indeed, they eat very little meat in the East, in comparison of what we do. "Bread, dibbs, leban, butter, rice, a very little mutton, make the chief of their food in the winter," says Dr. Russell,‡ speaking of the common people of Aleppo; "as rice, bread, cheese, and fruit, do in the summer."

Dr. Shaw gives the like account of the abstemiousness of the Arabs;§ and this though they have such numbers of cattle, that an Arab tribe, which can bring but three or four hundred horse into the field, shall be possessed of more than so many thousand camels, and triple that number of sheep and black cattle; the Arabs, he says,

* This was in a time of dearth: the gardens may be supposed exhausted; and indeed so the fields would seem to have been, for the *greens* they gathered were not eatable.
EDIT.

† In titulo Shebiith.

‡ P. 108.

§ P. 169.

rarely diminishing their flocks by using them for food, but living chiefly upon bread, milk, butter, dates, or what they receive in exchange for their wool.

The reason of this sparingness is not because animal food is not agreeable to them; no! Dr. Russell assures us that at Aleppo they can afford it, and dare shew it, and are far from being such abstemious people as many imagine those of the East to be:* it arises then from the straitness of their circumstances. And though the Arabs abound in cattle; yet being forced to draw all the other conveniencies of life from the profit they make of them, they kill very few for their own use. The Israelites were in much the same situation, great strangers to trade and manufactures, their patrimony but small, as they were so numerous; and therefore Solomon might, with great propriety, describe a ruinously expensive way of living by their frequent eating of flesh, Prov. xxiii. 20.; which in our country would be expressed in a very different manner.

A dinner however on herbs alone is not what the ordinary people of Aleppo are obliged to content themselves with, sparing as their way of living may be: a thought that may serve to illustrate Prov. xv. 17; where the contrast between the repasts of the rich and the poor is designed to be strongly marked.

* P. 105.

OBSERVATION LII.

Game sometimes used—Hunting of the Arabs.

THESE circumstances of the Israelites, however, did not, in any wise, forbid their indulging themselves in eating the flesh of those wild creatures, which was then thought, as it is now, to be very delicious; since the cultivating the small portion of land, that fell to the share of each, could by no means find them full employment; and only labour, besides time, was requisite for the catching those animals which, when caught, could be put to no more profitable use, than the making their own repasts so much the more delicious. It is for this reason, I apprehend, that Solomon made this an instance of diligence, Prov. xii. 27.; which would never have been mentioned as such by any English author in our times; but, agreeably to this instruction of Solomon, the present Arabs frequently exercise themselves with hunting in the Holy Land.*

There is something particular in the word חרך *Charak*, used in this passage of Solomon: it is not the word that is commonly used for *roasting*; but it signifies rather *singeing*, as appears from Dan. iii. 27. No author, I think, gives us an account what this should mean, understood in this sense. Besides wild-boars, antelopes, and hares,

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 243.

which are particularly mentioned by d'Arvieux, when he speaks of the Arabs as diverting themselves with hunting in the Holy Land, Dr. Shaw tells us, all kinds of game are found in great plenty in that country:* but I do not remember an account of any thing being prepared for food by *singeing*, that is taken either in hunting or hawking, except hares,† which I have indeed somewhere read of as dressed, in the East, after this manner: a hole being dug in the ground, and the earth scooped out of it laid all round its edge, the brush-wood with which it is filled is set on fire, the hare is thrown unskinned into the hole, and afterwards covered up with heated earth that was laid round about it, where it continues till it is thought to be done enough; and then being brought to table, sprinkled with salt, is found to be very agreeable food.‡

But if Solomon refers to this, and our translation of Lev. xi. 6. and Deut. xiv. 7.; be exact, the ancient Israelites were not near so scrupulous as their posterity have been; but of this we find traces in the Old Testament-history as to other injunctions of

* P. 347.

† Unless, it may be, hedge-hogs which, according to an author, in the *Miscell. Cur.* is reckoned a princely dish in Barbary; and which he says is singed after its throat is cut, and its spines cut off. Vol. III. p. 389. But this animal must have been as unlawful to the Jews as a hare.

‡ Russell gives this account, Vol. II. p. 158. In many parts of England, particularly in the west, the hogs are dressed in this way.—EDIT.

their law. They may be found in 2 Chron. xxxv. 18. ; xxxvi. 21. ; and more evidently still in Neh. viii. 17.

To these observations, relating to the hunting of the Israelites, we may add a remark from Hasselquist, who tells us, (p. 190,) that he had an excellent opportunity of seeing the manner in which the Arabians hunt the *Capra Cervicapra*, near Nazareth in Galilee. An Arab, mounting a swift courser, held a falcon in his hand, which he let loose when he saw the animal on the top of a mountain. The falcon attacked it from time to time, fastening its talons on or near the throat, till the huntsman coming up, took it alive, and cut its throat ; the falcon drinking the blood, as a reward for his labour. If the Israelites hunted anciently in this manner, this was another point in which they were not very observant of the law. Perhaps Moses, on account of this old Arab way of hunting, might not only order the blood to be let out of the creatures taken in hunting, which the Arabs, in this case at least, practise ; but that it should be covered with dust, and not given as food to the creatures whose assistance was wont to be used in hunting.

OBSERVATION LIII.

*Inhabitants of the Villages obliged to supply their
Grandees when on a Journey, with Provisions.*

THE learned are undetermined as to the sense we are to put on the words translated *fatted fowl*,

in the account that is given us of the provision for Solomon's table, 1 Kings iv. 23. ; the meaning of one of the original words not being certainly known ;* but the pullets and the pigeons of Moham-med Ebn Toulon explain, without doubt, the fowls that were prepared for Nehemiah, these only being mentioned by Maillet in his account of the provisions of this Egyptian prince ; and these the chief, and almost the only fowls that are mentioned on these occasions in the East, by other writers.†

* ברברים אבוסים *barbureem abuseem*. Michaelis supposes that these words, which all the versions render *fatted fowl*, signify such creatures, whether quadrupeds or fowls, as live in a wild or undomesticated state.—EDIT.

† So Pellow tells us, the provisions prepared for his wedding-feast, besides what his brother-in-law gave, were a fat bullock, four sheep, two dozen of large fowls, twelve dozen of young pigeons, one hundred and fifty pounds weight of fine flour, and fifty pounds of butter, besides honey, spices, &c. all which, his wedding holding three days, was fairly consumed, with a great deal of mirth and friendly satisfaction. (p. 73.) So, though Russell speaks of the turkey, goose, and duck, as used at Aleppo for food, besides the hen-kind and pigeons, and, after mentioning water-hens, water-rails, wild-geese, wild-duck and mallard, several kinds of widgeon, coots, spoon-bills, and teal, adds, with which the tables of the Europeans are plentifully supplied, and some eaten by the natives in the winter, (Vol. II. p. 193,) yet I do not remember to have observed any of them taken notice of by Dr. Pococke, or other writers that give us an account of the Eastern collations they were present at.* It may

* Dr. Russell observes (MS note) that *game* is very seldom brought to Mohammedan tables ; and when brought, not being dressed as in Europe, may be easily mistaken by a traveller. On this account, Dr. Pococke and other writers may not have perceived it, even when it was a part of their fare.—EDIT.

Fowls also are still sent in the Holy Land by the people to their great men, for the use of their tables. So when the Emir Derveesh happened to come to Tartoura, and was disposed to pass the night in its neighbourhood, d'Arvieux, who was with him, observed that nothing was more easy than the obeying his orders, when he directed a supper to be got ready for him, all people at Tartoura being forward to bring him presents of meat, poultry, game, fruit, and coffee. Voy. dans la Pal. p. 67.

The villages of Egypt, Dr. Pococke found,* are wont to send in like manner provisions to their great men when they travel; for he observes, that those villages that happened to be nearest the place where the Governor of Faiume stopped, in whose company he travelled, used to send a supper for him and his attendants. Presents of the like kind, or rather regular contributions of this sort, is undoubtedly what Nehemiah refers

not, however, be improper to observe, that, according to Albertus Aquensis, (*Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 285,) an Eastern Patriarch sent to Godfrey, afterwards king of Jerusalem, and the other princes that besieged that city, besides pomegranates and rich wine, fatted peacocks. The curious will do well to consider, whether the fatten *barburim* of Solomon mean fowls of this sort; and whether the term may be supposed to give any intimation of the country from whence they were originally brought. D'Herbelot mentions two different countries called *Barbary* by the people of the East, the one on the coast of the Mediterranean, commonly known by that name; the other, which he calls the *Ethiopic Barbary*, lies on the Ethiopic Ocean, between the Red Sea and Mozambique, near a gulf which Ptolemy calls *Sinus Barbaricus*.

* Vol. I. p. 56.

to, when he says of his predecessors, that they had been chargeable to the people, and had taken of them bread and wine, besides shekels of silver ; whereas he kept as bountiful a table as any of them at his own expence ; and then mentions the ox, the six sheep, the fowls, and the wine.

OBSERVATION LIV.

Different Methods of serving up Food at Meals.

As the Arabs serve up the things they intend for their guests all at once,* so Olearius gives us to understand it is also the Persian custom, and that the viands are distributed by a domestic, who takes portions of divers sorts out of the large dishes in which they are severally served up, and lays four or five different kinds of meat in one smaller dish. These are set, furnished after this manner before those whom they entertain ; one of these smaller dishes being placed before two persons only, or at most three.† The same practice obtains, he tells us, at the royal table itself.‡

This is not the custom at Aleppo. There, among the great, the several dishes are brought in one by one according to Dr. Russell,§ the company eating a little of each, after which they

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 128. † P. 472.

‡ P. 710. § Vol. I. 173.

are removed.* The modern managements of the Eastern people then, in their entertainments, are not similar; they might not be so anciently. May we not then suppose that the ancient Egyptians treated their guests in a manner a good deal resembling the way of the modern Persians? What else was the honour done to Benjamin, in making his mess five times larger than those of his brethren? Gen. xliii. 34. Each man had doubtless, enough, and to spare, answerable to the magnificence of the person that entertained them: and the having five times more than the rest could have been of no advantage to him;† unless we suppose enough was set before him of each sort of provision for his complete repast, in case he should prefer any one to the rest; or else that a much greater variety was set before him than before his brethren, ten or fifteen different things being placed before him, it may be, while two or three only were set before the others.‡

* Egmont and Heyman observed the same thing, in an entertainment given the English Ambassador by the Grand Vizier in a plain near Constantinople: after the first course was removed, thirty dishes of roasted fowls, partridges, &c. were successively served up. Vol I. p. 218.

† What is added to this Observation, in this edition, will however shew, that Sir J. Chardin apprehends this is what was meant.

‡ This would be agreeable to Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain's account of a great entertainment, at which he was present in India. The Ambassador, he tells us, had more dishes by ten, and he less by ten, than their entertainer had, (who was the Great Mogul's brother-in-law,) yet that he (the chaplain) himself had for his part fifty, p. 408. Here we see the

Every circumstance of this old Egyptian entertainment seems to agree with Olearius's account of the Persian; and, in particular, their being placed in a row on one side of the room, none being opposite to them; which Olearius remarks in his account, and which, with a distinct dish being placed before each of them with different kinds of food, seems to have been what occasioned that marvelling the sacred historian mentions, Gen. xliii. 33.; rather than any thing else; they being wont, instead of this variety, solemnity, and order, to eat in a confused huddled way of one single dish, a good deal, we may believe, like those Arabs dining on the borders of the Nile, who attracted the attention of le Bruyn: "they sat on the ground," says he, "and had in the middle of them a large wooden dish of milk, into which they dipped by turns their hands, supping the milk afterwards out of them,"* Such a contrast between the solemnity and order, (being to sit down according to their age) and their common confused way of eating; and between this variety and sumptuousness, and their mean repasts was enough to produce astonishment; and much more easily accounts for it, than the supposing Joseph ranged them in order, and that his brethren imagined he did it by divination, as some commentators have done.†

distinction made by the number of dishes set before each. The reader will judge for himself, which is the most natural sense to put on the account of the sacred historian, that Benjamin's mess was five times as much as any of his brethren's.

* Tom. I. p. 586.

† Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

Sir J. Chardin has a note on this account of Joseph's entertainment, which will be a pleasing addition to what I have been saying: as it confirms and enlarges the account I before gave. "I see, in these verses," says his MS. "many customs, which are the same with those generally practised through all the East. They do not in common make use of a table, or chairs; the floors of the houses are covered with mats, pieces of felt, or carpets. Among those who are at all opulent there are, besides, embroidered or stiched coverings four feet broad, and cushions placed against the wall to lean upon. All these things are embroidered with gold, among people of quality. When the provisions are served up, they spread a cloth whose breadth and length is proportioned to the hall when it is full of people, and smaller when there are fewer persons; at the same time they serve up the provisions, beginning with the bread. In Turkey all eat together, and many out of one dish; and I apprehend the Turks do not consider it as forbidden and unlawful to eat with people of a different religion, &c. But it is otherwise in Persia, in Arabia, and in the Indies; all the people of these countries abhor one another so much, (except the Christians,) that they would think themselves defiled, and made impure, by being touched by people of a different faith, or by eating out of the same dish. It is for this reason, I am of opinion, that they are wont to serve up every one's food by itself. A carver parts each dish

(which, he observes in the margin, is set before the master of the house, or the principal guest, or in the middle of the hall,) into as many portions, put into different plates, as there are people to eat, which are placed before them. There are some houses where they place several plates in large salvers, either round, long, or square; and they set one of these before each person, or before two or three persons, according to the magnificence of each house. The great men of the state are always by themselves, (and are served with greater profusion, their part of each kind of provision being always double, treble, or a larger proportion of each kind of meat,) in the feasts that are made for them." We now shall be better able to conceive of the order of the feast Joseph made for his brethren: when it is said in the 33d verse, that *they set before him*, it signifies that Joseph sat at the upper end of the hall, his brethren at the lower end, and the Egyptians by the sides. As for Benjamin's mess, being five times as much as any of his brethren's, which is mentioned in the 34th verse, it may be understood to mean that he had five times as much of every thing as they; or that the vessel in which he was served was five times larger: but the first notion agrees best with the customs and managements of the East.

OBSERVATION LV.

Manner of eating at Courts.

THE eating at courts is of two kinds ; the one public and solemn, the other private : might not the intention of those passages, that speak of a right to eat at a royal table, be to point out a right to a seat there when the repast was public and solemn ?

Sir John Chardin understood it after this manner. So when dying king David directed his son Solomon to shew kindness to the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite, and to let them be of those that should eat at his table, he tells us, in a note in his MS. that this was to be understood of the majilis,* not of the daily and ordinary repast there. Now at these majilis, he observes, many persons have a right to a seat ; others have a right there from special grace, and extraordinarily. In this passage we are to understand their receiving a right to attend at those times.

He understands 2 Kings xxv. 28, 29. after the same manner, as signifying Evil-Merodach's plac-

* This word occurs several times in his coronation of Solyman III. ; and is explained as signifying an assembly of lords, or a public feast.

The original Arabic word مجلس *majlis*, signifies an assembly, convention, conference, council. It is the common term, both in Persic and Arabic, by which such meetings as those above, are expressed.—EDIT.

ing Jehoiakim at the majilis before other princes. Thus in his coronation of Solyman III. he describes a young captive Tartar prince, as admitted by the king of Persia to his majilis, p. 116.

This notion seems to be confirmed by David's not being expected at the table of Saul *till the day of the new moon*, and his being looked for then, 1 Sam. xx. 25.

To which I would add, that understanding things after this manner removes embarrassments from what is said concerning Mephibosheth, in 2 Sam. ix. Though he was to eat all public times at the king's table, yet he would want the produce of his lands for food at other times. It was very proper also for David to mention to Ziba the circumstance of his being to eat at all public times, as one of his own sons, at the royal table, that Ziba might understand it would be requisite for him to bring the produce of the lands to Jerusalem; and that in such quantities too, as to support Mephibosheth in a manner answerable to the dignity of one that attended at public times at court. *Thou shalt bring in the fruits, that thy master's son may have food to eat: and* (for that, I apprehend, is the particle our translators should have made use of, not *but*) *Mephibosheth, thy master's son, shall eat bread always at my table.* 2 Sam. ix. 10. Thus, along with his admission to the royal assemblies, considerable pensions were assigned the young Tartar prince for his maintenance, by the king of Persia, according to Sir J. Chardin.

OBSERVATION LVI.

Provisions sent from the Tables of Eastern Princes to the Poor; &c.

THE Eastern princes, and the Eastern people, not only invite their friends to feasts; but it is their custom to send a portion of the banquet to those that cannot well come to it, especially their relations, and those in a state of mourning.

This is the account the MS. C. gives us, in a note on a passage of the Apocrypha, 1 Esdr. ix. 51. It is equally applicable to Neh. viii. 10, 12. and Esth. ix. 19. 22. This *sending of portions to those for whom nothing was prepared* has been understood, by those commentators I have consulted, to mean the poor: sending for portions however to one another, is expressly distinguished in Esth. ix. 22. *from gifts to the poor*. There would not have been the shadow of a difficulty in this, had the historian been speaking of a private feast; but he is describing a national festival, where every one was supposed to be equally concerned; those then *for whom nothing was prepared*, means those that were in a state of mourning, mourning for private calamities being here supposed to take place of rejoicing for public concerns.

But it is not only to those that are in a state of mourning that provisions are sometimes sent; others are honoured by princes, in the same man-

ner, who could not conveniently attend to the royal table, or to whom it was supposed not to be convenient.

So when the grand emir found it incommoded Monsieur d'Arvieux to eat with him, he complaisantly desired him to take his own time for eating, and sent him what he liked, from his kitchen, and at the time he chose.* And thus, when king David would needs suppose, for secret reasons, too well known to himself, that it would be inconvenient for Uriah to continue at the royal palace; and therefore dismissed him to his own house; *there followed him a mess of meat from the king.* 2 Sam. xi. 8. 10.

OBSERVATION LVII.

Women and Men do not eat together in the East.

THE women do not eat with the men, in the Eastern feasts: they, however, are not forgotten; it being usual for them to feast, at the same time, by themselves.

So at the same time that Ahasuerus feasted the men, the sacred historian tells us, *Vashti the queen made a feast for the women, in the royal house,* Esth. i. 9. The MS. C. tells us, this is the custom of Persia, and of all the East: the women have their feasts, at the same time, but apart from the men.

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 20, 21.

And thus Maillet, after having given a most pompous and brilliant account of the extraordinary feasting at the castle of Grand Cairo, upon the circumcision of the sons of the Bashaw of Egypt, tells us at the close, that “he was assured that the expense, which was incurred at the same time in the apartments of the women of the Bashaw, was not much less considerable than what appeared in public; there being there the same liberalities, the same pleasures, the same abundance, the same magnificence, that appeared out of the apartments.”*

It is, doubtless, for the same reason, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride are distinctly mentioned, Jer. xxvi. 10] and in other places—the noise of mirth was heard, that is, in different apartments. There is no feast in the East, according to Sir J. Chardin’s MS.† without music and dances: certainly then they are not omitted in nuptial solemnities; and their noise, I presume, is what we are to understand by the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride, not their voices personally considered. The modern Eastern brides we know, at least many of them, are the occasion of making a great deal of noisy mirth; but they themselves are remarkably silent.

The light of the candle, mentioned by the Prophet in this passage, is not to be limited to nuptial solemnities, but to be considered as expressing

* Let. x. p. 79.

† Note on Luke xv. 25.

joy in general. Lights, however, were used in a very particular manner in their marriage festivities: this appears from the second of the Apocryphal books of Esdras, on which the MS. C. has a note that is too curious to be lost. "This refers to the custom of the East, where there are wont to be too large wax-tapers, in the chamber of the bridegroom, where the feast is kept, which are held by his god-fathers, (for they do not put them into candlesticks) and are as high as a man. There is another of the like kind in the bride's apartment."

I am aware that Dr. Shaw has mentioned this separation of the two sexes in the East in their feasts; but perhaps my readers may not be displeased with these additional accounts, especially as they contain some circumstances not mentioned by him.

OBSERVATION LVIII.

The Eastern People begin to eat very early in the Morning.

THE Eastern people begin to eat as soon as it is day, though it is but a small repast they then take.

This appears in several places of our books of travels, and is expressly taken notice of by Sir J. Chardin in his MS. and applied to the illustration of a passage to which this custom has, I suppose,

no relation :* but as it may, possibly, be of some use with respect to some other places, I would not omit setting down his remark.

“ The greatest part of the people of the East eat a little morsel as soon as the day breaks—but it is very little they then eat, a little cake, or a mouthful of bread ; drinking a dish or two of coffee. This is very agreeable in hot countries ; in cold, people eat more.”†

If this was customary in Judea, we are not to understand the words of the Levite’s father-in-law, Judges xix. 5. *Comfort thine heart with a morsel of bread, and afterwards go your way*, which are nearly repeated, ver. 8, as signifying stay and breakfast, that is done, extremely early ; but the words appear to mean, stay and dine : the other circumstances of the story perfectly agree with this account.‡

* Psalm xc. 14.

† Among the Poet Sady’s *Maxims*, we find the following : “ A wise man said to his son, Never leave the house in the morning till thou hast eaten something, for this has a tendency to fortify the mind : and then shouldst thou be insulted by any person, thou wilt find thyself more disposed to suffer patiently ; for hunger dries up and disorders the brain.” As this is one of their *maxims*, we need not wonder at the *custom* founded on it, which, for various reasons, should be observed by those of the West, as well as by the inhabitants of the East.—EDIT.

‡ The drinking coffee is never esteemed *breakfasting* ; for they drink coffee at any time of the night.—EDIT.

OBSERVATION LIX.

Abstemiousness conducive to Health.

ABSTAINING from wine and from rich food is no injury to the complexion, or health, of people in those countries: what is said therefore of the effects of the abstemiousness of Daniel and his companions* might be nothing extraordinary, and out of the common course of things.

So Sir J. Chardin observes, that, without considering whether there was any thing miraculous in the case of Daniel, it is true, and I have remarked this, that the countenances of the Kechichs are in fact more rosy and smooth than those of others; and that these, who fast much, I mean the Armenians and the Greeks, are notwithstanding very beautiful, sparkling with health, with a clear and lively countenance. He afterwards takes notice of the very great abstemiousness of the Brahmins in the Indies, who lodge on the ground, abstain from women,† from music, from all sorts of agreeable smells, who go very meanly clothed, are almost always wet, either by going into water, or by rain, &c; yet I have seen also many of them very handsome and healthful.

There is no necessity then of supposing any thing miraculous in the case of Daniel and his

* Dan. i. 15.

† He says, they are first married, and have one child, and then leave their wives.

associates ; or that he apprehended a Divine interposition requisite to save Melzar from the displeasure of the king : he knew the salutary effects of great temperance ; and he did not apprehend they would be less, when united with religious care, not to incur any pollutions forbidden by the law of his ancestors ; and he was not mistaken as to the event. It is very possible a little more abstemiousness in European courts would be no injury to the complexion, the health, or the sagacity, of those that execute offices there, or are expecting great employments.

OBSERVATION LX.

Mats used in the East instead of Tables.

THE people of the East frequently place their dishes of food on mats ; and I should imagine they did so in the days of Job.

That they place them on mats now, appears from d'Arvieux's account of the supper the inhabitants of a village in Palestine prepared for him, which consisted of fried fish, eggs, rice, &c. placed upon a mat, or, as he expresses it, a round table made of straw stitched together.*

I have met with the same circumstance in other travellers.

Perhaps this custom is as ancient as the time of Job, and that there is a reference to it in those

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 29, and p. 123.

words, ch. xli 20. *Out of his nostrils goeth smoke as out of a dud and an agmon.* Our translators render these two words, a *seething-pot* and a *cauldron* ;* but this last word every where else is translated a *rush* or a *bulrush*, excepting Job. xli. 2. ; where the English word is *hook*. No mortal can conceive, I apprehend, any relation between these things and a cauldron ; but there is a very plain one between a rush and a mat, which is defined, “ a texture of sedge, flags, or rushes.”† Another kindred word, derived from the same root, signifies a *pool*, where such plants, as the things that compose a mat, grow.

I am inclined therefore to believe the word *agmon* signifies a *mat*, from which, covered with various dishes of hot food, a great steam ascended.

It is certainly much more natural to translate the word *agmon*, by the word *mat* than *cauldron*, and perhaps rather more natural than to understand the comparison, as some have done, of the mist that arises from low lands in general, which is by no means limited to pools of water, which the word is supposed to signify.

The word *dud* seems to have been translated, with as little probability, *seething-pot*, since it appears, from Jer. xxiv. 2. to signify a vessel proper for the putting figs in ; and clay, according to Psalm lxxxi. 6. But what it precisely signifies

* כְּדֹד נַפְחֹאֵךְ וַאֲגֹמֶן *kedud naphuach veagmon*. Not “ these two words,” for נַפְחֹאֵךְ *naphuach* is the term which they render *seething*. This criticism of Mr. Harmer will not be found very satisfactory by most of our readers.—EDIT.

† Johnson’s Dict.

may be very difficult to determine. I shall however have occasion to resume the consideration of the *dud*, under the next Observation.

OBSERVATION LXI.

Various Utensils used by the ancient Jews.

It may be difficult also, after all that can be done, to make out the precise meaning of several of the terms used to denote the utensils of the ancient Jews, for preparing their food, &c. But the affair has been rendered still more obscure, by our translators varying so extremely in their translations of those terms; and though this matter may seem to be of little consequence, curiosity is always concerned in unravelling things of this kind; and sometimes it may be of a little importance, for the due understanding a passage.

Our translators sometimes use one English word, to translate several Hebrew terms, which seem to be made use of to denote vessels of a very different kind from each other. So the word *cruse*, which according to Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, signifies a small cup, is given us as a translation of three different Hebrew terms, of which not one seems to mean a small cup,* but one a *pitcher*, צפרת; another a *dish*, צלחת; and a third, a *honey-pot*, בקבוק.

* The three following words are translated *cup* in our version : גביע *gebeeá*, ספף *sapap*, כוס *kus*.—EDIT.

At other times, on the contrary, they translate one and the same Hebrew word by different English terms. So the word צלחת *tzallachath*, or צלוחית *tzelochith*, is translated *cruse*, 2 Kings ii. 20.; *dish*, 2 Kings xxi. 13.; *pan*, 2 Chron. xxv. 13.: and in the two similar places of Proverbs, ch. xix. 24. and ch. xxvi. 15., *bosom*.* It is used, that is, in distinct passages, but four times in the Scriptures, and a distinct English term is each time made use of. The word should, I apprehend, have been translated *dish* invariably in all the four places.

Ours are, however, not the only translators guilty of this inattention; those of the Septuagint version are as faulty. But still it is the occasion of great confusion; and as it may be agreeable, to some readers at least, to endeavour to disembroil these things as far as we can, I would here set down such remarks as have occurred to me, as I do not know any place in this work where they could be brought in with greater propriety.

The utensils of the Arabs then, who retain ancient usages more than any other nation, and who content themselves with the *necessaries* of life, are, according to authors, as follow: bowls, a pot, a kettle,† a small hand-mill, some pitchers, with goats'-hair sacks, trunks, and hampers covered with skin for the removing their goods,‡ leather

* In the two parallel places in Proverbs there is an allusion to the manner of eating among the Orientals.—EDIT.

† Shaw, p. 231.

‡ Voy dans la Pal. ch. 12.

bottles,* dishes,† with great jars for keeping their corn, according to Norden.‡

It appears from Plaistead, describing his journey over a prodigious desert, where they were obliged to bring their conveniencies into a very narrow compass, that two or three kinds of leather bottles are used in such a situation: one very large, for the reception of a great quantity of liquor, which he calls skins; and smaller vessels of leather, which he calls bottles; the smallest sort of all he distinguishes by the particular name of matarras §

Sephel סֶפֶל, or *saph* סַף, is the Hebrew word, I should apprehend, for the first of these utensils, or bowls. I say *sephel*, or *saph*, because it appears to me not improbable, that not only the same utensil is meant in those places where these two words are found, but that the original design was to express a *bowl* by one word only, and not to make use of two in so scanty a language. As the Hebrew writings are now divided into words, *sephel* undoubtedly signifies an Arab bowl, for it expresses that utensil that Jael, who was of an Arab family, and lived in tents as they do, made use of, when she presented butter-milk to Sisera, Judges v. 25. It appears no where else, I think, but in Judges vi. 38. where it signifies a vessel proper for squeezing water into. But were we now to divide an ancient Hebrew copy of this book, written according to the ancient manner, without any division, even into words, I do not see why we

* P. 195. † P. 199. ‡ Vol. II. p. 119. § P. 30.

may not form a word in these two places by the two first letters, writing the third letter (ל *lamed*) with the succeeding ones. *Lamed*, ל according to Noldius, is used sometimes to give the construction of an adjective to the word to which it is prefixed, so בעליל לארץ *baáleel laarets*, Ps. xii. 6., is a *furnace of earth*, or an *earthen vessel* proper for the purification of silver; in like manner, if, instead of writing ל *lamed* with the word which signifies bowl, we should join it to the following word, it would equally signify, in Judges v. 25. *lordly bowl*, and in Judges vi. 38., *water bowl*, as in the present way of placing the letters; only the word would be *saph* instead of *sephel*.

However, supposing the present divisions perfectly authentic, the words *sephel* and *saph* are so near each other, that since *sephel* signifies *bowl*, such as the Arabs use, I should apprehend *saph* might signify the same kind of vessel. It is certain there is nothing in the six places, in which it is used, that opposes such an interpretation.*

* Jars and pitchers for fetching water for numbers of people, and for drinking out of; bowls for kneading their bread, and afterwards for eating out of, must have been most necessary to the people that attended king David to Mahanaim; and consequently the first probably were the earthen vessels brought to them; and the bowls being of wood or copper tinned, were what our version calls *basins*. The Septuagint talk of *pots*, which also were very necessary, but not so much so as *bowls*. These, however, most probably, were sent, being so necessary for preparing their food, though they are not particularly mentioned. So wine, without doubt, was furnished by them with the other provisions, though this is not expressly said. To this is to be added, that the copies the Sep

Seer סֵר, from a collation of all the passages in which it occurs, seems to mean the Arab *pot* for boiling meat. It appears, by a circumstance mentioned 2 Kings iv. 38., to have been made of different sizes; but should never have been translated *cauldron*, as it sometimes is in our version. The vessel used for removing ashes, mentioned Exod. xxvii. 3., and some of the vessels used about the sacred candlestick, or the altar of incense, seem to have received their denomination from their being in form like their seething-pots.

Kallachath קלחת is the word that seems to mean the *kettle* of the Arabs, such a great utensil as those in which they sometimes stew a whole lamb or kid. It is found only in two places of Scripture: Mic. iii. 3. 1 Sam. ii. 14.

Dishes, or plates, are conveniencies that the Arabs themselves have; and Plaistead, when he proposed to reduce the number of travelling utensils, recommends copper plates, as well as sneakers or bowls, p. 34.; I have already observed, that *tzelochith*, or *tzallachath*, seems to be the Hebrew term for this utensil. Our translators render the word *dish*, in one place, 2 Kings xxi. 13.; but by three different words, in the other places. See p. 114.

Cad כַּד I have shewn, in a distinct article of this chapter, signifies that great *jar* in which they keep their corn, and sometimes fetch their water.

†uagint translated from seem, in this place, to have been somewhat different from those we have.

Nebel נבל means an earthen vessel not very unlike the preceding, in which they keep their wine. Voyage-writers, I think, frequently call them *jars*; but as the Hebrew gives us a different term for those vessels, it must be right to appropriate an English term to this kind of vessels. The translator of the Arabian Nights Entertainments denominates such a vessel a *jug*; and perhaps we cannot find a better. Our version generally renders it a *bottle*, a term which, I doubt, neither answers its shape, nor excites a proper idea of the quantity of wine that such a vessel contains: in one place, Lam. iv. 2., it is translated *pitcher*; and in another place by the general term *vessel*.

Nod נוד occurs five or six times, and is always translated *bottle* in our version; but certainly differs much from the last mentioned utensil, which was an *earthen* vessel, this, one of *leather*; it agrees with it in being of large capacity, used for churning, as well as for wine; whereas, there are small leather bottles, called *matarrah*, according to Plaistead.* *Bottle* then does not seem to be so proper a translation, nor even leather bottle; and what would be a proper term is difficult to say, as we have no such vessel, in England. Plaistead calls them *skins*, and Maundrell goats'-skins;† and either of these terms would do very well to translate the passages of Scripture by in

* The Persian word is متاراه *matarah*, and signifies a flexible leather drinking bottle, or cup used by travellers.—EDIT.

† P. 29. "He brought us the next day, on his own back, a kid, and a goat's skin of wine, as a present from the convent."

common, in which the word *nod* occurs. But what shall we say to Psalm lvi. 8. ? shall we translate it, *Thou tellest my wanderings ; put thou my tears in thy goat-skin ?* Would it not sound still worse, *Put thou my tears in thy skin ?* The term makes out God's not suffering his tears to fall unnoticed ; and it involves in it the notion of the large quantities his afflictions forced from him ; but it is extremely difficult to find one single word which would be applied with propriety, to all the passages in which the Hebrew word appears.

Chemeth חֶמֶת means a smaller vessel of leather, for the holding liquors, larger however, perhaps, than the modern matarras (*matarah*,) since one of them, filled with water, was all the liquid provision Hagar and Ishmael had when they went into the wilderness, Gen. xxi. The other three* passages, in which we meet with the word, seem also to involve in them the notion of a considerable quantity, though very much short of a goat-skin full.

Pitcher often appears in our version ; but *tzap-pachath* צַפַּחַת is the Hebrew term that properly denotes what we mean by a pitcher, though our translators always render it *cruse*, which signifies a small cup, or perhaps a cruet ; but neither of those terms, one would think, accurately expresses the meaning of the word : a small cup would not be a proper vessel for the keeping oil in, and a cruet is not of a capacity to contain water enough for the refreshment of a prophet,

* Hos. vii. 5., Hab. ii. 15., and Job xxi. 20.

faint with journeying in an Eastern desert. As a pitcher answers all uses a *tzappachath* appears to have been put to; so it is the vessel, on the outside of which, when made sufficiently hot, the Arabs bake one species of their bread;* and *tzappachath* signifies a *wafer*, or thin cake made with honey. Exod. xvi. 31.

Celub כֶּלֶב seems to signify a *basket not wrought close*, but like a *cage*, for it apparently signifies a *cage* or *coop*, Jer. v. 27.; and was very proper for cucumbers and melons, and such large fruits, which were too big to slip out between the twigs; and accordingly we find the *celub* was used for summer fruits, Amos viii. 1, 2.

Dud דֹּד mentioned under the preceding Observation, I am inclined to think, signifies, on the contrary, a *close-wrought basket*. It is very variously translated in our version: *basket*, Jer. xxiv. 2.; *kettle*, 1 Sam. ii. 14.; *pot*, Job xli. 20.; and *cauldron*, 2 Chron. xxxv. 13. According to Psalm. lxxxii., the *dud* was used by the Israelites in their Egyptian labours; and though we translate the word there *pots*, it means *baskets*. Sir J. Chardin in his MS. note on the place, supposes them to be baskets, in which, he tells us, “the Eastern people put their mortar, instead of those wooden hods used by masons in our country.† If they use baskets for this purpose, they must be close-wrought, or the mortar would drop through;

* Voy dans la Pal. p. 192, 193.

† This is also the custom in China: a close wrought basket of bamboo, with the handle hung over the arm, is the substitute there for a *hod*.—EDIT.

and this seems to be the circumstance that distinguished it from the *celub*. No body will find any difficulty in supposing that an utensil of this kind might be proper for putting figs in, Jer. xxiv. 2.; or human heads, 2 Kings x. 7. But it may be thought a very strange vessel for meat that was cooked and hot: if, however, our translation of Judges vi. 19. be right, it was by no means abhorrent from their manners; and, whatever be thought of that translation, Dr. Shaw shews, in a passage I have elsewhere quoted, baskets are now used in such circumstances.

Sal לֵב the word there, however, may mean some light wooden vessel, proper for carrying bread, flesh, &c. in. The word signifies the vessel into which they were wont to gather their grapes, as appears from Jer. vi. 9.; but such a vessel, which would hold the liquor draining from the bruised grapes, would be more proper than a basket; and, if prints published in wine-countries are exact, appear to be used now for that purpose. Such a light portable vessel, with a cover to be occasionally put on, must have been more convenient, frequently, for carrying food in, than wicker-work, though wrought close: so Thevenot complains, that the sand insinuated itself into the maund in the desert in which he travelled, and quite spoiled the baked meats contained in it.* If it signifies a basket, it seems to mean a small one, of the close-wrought kind.

The word *tena* תֵּנָא, which is also translated

* Part I. p. 162.

basket, will be explained in a note under the first Observation of the next Chapter. Great certainty, however, must not be expected in such matters; but if the comparing the ancient Jewish names for domestic utensils with those now in use in the East, be not a sure way to determine their meaning, we certainly have a better chance to guess right; and it affords a pleasing amusement.

OBSERVATION LXII.

Women are still accustomed to draw Water in the East.

THE Eastern people seldom drink at meals, but very largely after eating, and particularly of water.*

After considering what they eat, it is natural to turn our thoughts to what they drink: and water is that which first presents itself to the mind, of which they drink now large quantities, and did so anciently.

It is the business of the females in those countries to fetch this necessary of life. Dr. Shaw has told us this ancient Oriental custom still continues in those hot countries; and that the women, tying their sucking children behind them, fetch the water that is wanted in their families, in the evening; at which time, he tells us, they go forth adorned with their trinkets:† but Sir J. Chardin

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 203—205.

† P. 241. Shaw, says Dr. Russell, (MS. note) is right: the *girls* go also for water, but seldom without one or more

has added some particulars farther in his sixth MS. volume, which I am not willing to suppress.

In the first place, he supposes it is the business of young women that are single to fetch the water; and that it is only when there are none such in a family that married women perform that office. This agrees with the book of Genesis: Rebecca had a mother at the time Abraham's servant came into Mesopotamia, Gen. xxiv. 53.; yet Rebecca fetched the water, not the mother. So the servant supposed they were the daughters of the men of the city that would come out to draw water; and such as were unmarried, for among them he hoped to find a wife for Isaac.

Secondly, he tells us, they fetch water in the mornings as well as evenings.* The heat of the sun in the middle of the day, makes the going to fetch water improper then; but it is no wonder the cool of the morning should be made use of for this purpose, as well as that of the evening, since he represents the Eastern people as very curious as to the water they drink.

I would add, that it appears from both these gentlemen, that there was no impropriety in the servants putting ornaments on Rebecca, when performing this mean office: the women of those countries are wont to adorn themselves at such times in the best manner they are able; nor are

grown persons in company. The women also gather wood, sheep dung, &c.—EDIT.

* And Dr. Russell remarks, (MS. note) that at these times great numbers of females are seen going together on this employment.—EDIT.

we to suppose Rebecca went out without any ornaments of this sort, but rather, that her brother saw with surprise, her meaner* ornaments exchanged for others that were more pompous and valuable.†

But though they use great quantities of water to drink in the Levant, they do not confine themselves to such a temperate beverage now; and certainly the Jews did not, whose law did not forbid them the indulgence of wine, as that of Mohammed does. This we shall find presently, but I must first make another observation relating to water.

OBSERVATION LXIII.

Water the principal Beverage of the East.

THEY not only drink water very commonly in the East; but it is considered as an important part of the provisions made for a repast, and is sent as such to shearers and reapers in particular.

I question not but that several persons have been surprised at the words of Nabal, when David sent messengers to him for some support in the wilderness. *Shall I then take my bread, and*

* According to Sir J. Chardin, some of the Eastern women that fetch water have ornaments *then* upon them of *very great value*.

† Dr. Russell (MS. note) remarks farther, that the women never appear without their ornaments at their *wrists* and *ankles*, however employed.—EDIT.

my water, and my flesh that I have killed for my shearers, and give unto men whom I know not whence they be? 1 Sam. xxv. 11. Was water to be prepared for shearers? Could he think of sending water to David with provisions?

Perhaps a passage from Mr. Drummond's Travels may somewhat diminish the surprise: "The men and women are then employed in reaping; and this operation they perform by cutting off the ears, and pulling up the stubble;* which method has been always followed in the East: other females were busy in carrying water to the reapers, so that none but infants were unemployed."†

An apocryphal writer represents a prophet as carrying pottage and bread broken in a bowl into the field to reapers;‡ Mr. Drummond saw people employed in carrying water to such: no wonder then Nabal had provided water to be carried to his shearers.

* When they *pull up the corn*, (says Dr. R. *ibid.*) they do not *cut off the ears*: and when they *cut down the corn*, they do not *pull up the stubble*."—EDIT.

† P. 216.

‡ Bel and the Dragon, ver. 33.

On this passage Dr. Russell (MS. note) remarks, "Undoubtedly they do not send water to the fields more than they do in England; they send small beer."—EDIT.

OBSERVATION LXIV.

Large Supply of Cattle at the Tables of Princes.

DR. POCOCKE has given us an account* of the way in which the Bey of Tunis lived in 1753; not that his way of living differed from that of other Beys, but merely as a curiosity he could present his readers with. After describing some soups taken by him in the morning, he tells us, that he was wont to dine at eleven; that the grandees sat near him; that when they had eaten, others sat down, and the poor took away what was left. His provisions were twelve sheep every day, dressed in three different manners—with a rice-pillaw—with oranges and eggs—and, thirdly, with onions and butter. Besides the mutton, there was wont to be cuscoosoo, which they eat with the broth; and also boiled fish or fowls, with lemon or orange-sauce. An hour before sunset they eat as before.

But, besides the curiosity of this account, it may serve to illustrate what is said in the Scriptures of some eminent personages; and the comparing the one with the other gives a very sensible pleasure. The Bey of Tunis is not a great prince; he is, however, at the head of a very considerable people; yet Nehemiah seems to have equalled him in his way of living, his daily provision being, besides fowls, six choice sheep and an ox. Beef is not now much relished by the Eastern people:

* Vol. I. p. 266, &c.

they are ready to think it a coarse kind of food ; and Mons. Maillet observes,* that the great people of Egypt would think they dishonoured themselves, if they should have it served up on their tables ; and that they were always surprised to see it at his, who was the representative of so great a prince as the king of France. According to Dr. Russell, indeed, there begins to be a change at Aleppo, as to this point, among the Christian inhabitants ; but the rest are still averse from beef. That mutton is, in the East, the favourite meat, all agree ; but it appears, from many passages of Scripture, that beef was, anciently, in high esteem in Judea ; and, consequently, the having an ox every day was no meanness at the table of Nehemiah.† And as to abundance, his table must be at least equal to that of the Bey of Tunis. I am aware that Shaw observes, that the neat cattle of Barbary are very small ; and that the fattest, when brought from the stall, weighs no more than five or six hundred pounds : ‡ however, we may reckon an ox to be equivalent to six sheep at least ; and therefore, that Nehemiah lived, in the

* Lett. 11. p. 109, and Lett. 12. p. 154.

† Notwithstanding the degrading view in which the modern Eastern people look upon the flesh of this animal, Maillet assures us, that its flesh is admirable, especially in that season when the meadows are covered with verdure. That it is not surpassed by that of the oxen of Hungary, or of any other country. It has this excellence also, that it is extremely nourishing. Lett. 9, p. 27.

‡ P. 168.

ruined country of Judea, with a splendor equal to that of a Bey of Tunis.

The friend of Dr. Pococke, from whom he had his account, did not inform him what number of persons lived from the Bey's table; but Maillet tells us,* that a sheep, with a proper proportion of rice, and consequently of bread, will suffice threescore people: at the same rate twelve sheep then will serve seven hundred and twenty. But as the Bey had two meals a day, of much the same kind, his table, according to this computation, maintained, allowing for the fish and fowl, near four hundred people. This calculation agrees very well with the history of Nehemiah, which informs us, that he entertained those that came to him continually from the heathen; besides an hundred and fifty Jews and Rulers. Some of these had attendants, doubtless, and his own servants must have been numerous; could they in the whole have been much fewer than four hundred persons?†

* Lett. 11. p. 110.

† This part of the history of Nehemiah, concerning the expence of his table, which was defrayed out of his own private fortunes, Neh. v. 18., clearly explains what the excuse means, mentioned Is. iii. 7., so far as relates to bread; but it is not so clear why the man declined being a Ruler, because he had no quantity of clothing by him, in which the Eastern treasures anciently very much consisted. It may signify, he had not wherewithal to equip his attendants, in the manner they ought to be in such a case, the servants of the great in the East being wont to be magnificently dressed; or it may mean, that he had not what might be used for making such a present as such a station would require him to make, on several occasions.

But it is to be thought that Eastern magnificence has risen much higher than this. Nehemiah and a Bey of Tunis were much beneath many of the princes of those countries ; and, indeed, we find that private nobles, in happier times, or in more flourishing kingdoms, have greatly exceeded them : so Maillet, in a passage I shall presently cite from him, affirms, that the great lords of Egypt, who are only private persons, generally keep in attendance a thousand or twelve hundred persons.

Solomon was, indisputably, the most magnificent of the Jewish kings ; and, accordingly, his retinue was very numerous, and greatly exceeded that of these Egyptian nobles of Maillet. What is said, 1 Kings xi. 3., puts it out of all manner of doubt ; but the data are hardly sufficient to determine how many were fed from his table. His provisions for a day were, thirty measures of fine flour, and threescore of meal ; ten fat oxen, twenty out of the pastures ; and an hundred sheep, besides venison and fatted fowl : if we compare the abundance of his table with that of Nehemiah, and estimate the difference by the sheep, it was about seventeen times as much ; if by the beef, thirty times : only it is to be remembered, that ten only of Solomon's oxen were fatted, the rest being out of the pastures ; perhaps therefore the proportion, upon the whole, might be twenty to one, and consequently, that Solomon's table fed about eight thousand persons of all sorts,* wives, ministers of state, fo-

* Mons. Voltaire's account differs very much from this. In his *Raison par Alphabet*, under the article *Salomon*, he tells us,

reigners, servants, and (like the table of Nehemiah, the Bey of Tunis, and the Arab princes,) the poor.

This abundance, however, appears to have been afterwards exceeded in Egypt. The royal feasts of Mohammed Ebn Toulon,* or Mohammed the son of Toulon, Maillet tells us,† from the Arabian writers, were so abundant as to feed fourteen thousand persons, who belonged to the different offices of his household. The quintals of meat, butter, and sugar, which they daily employed for the pastry-work alone, of which these historians, he says give an exact list, were so numerous as to appear incredible. So also does the quantity of sheep, pullets, pigeons, and spices, which were daily consumed in cookery. As to oxen, no mention was made of them, because, as he had elsewhere observed, the flesh of that animal never ap-

“they daily served up for the dinner and supper of his household fifty oxen and an hundred sheep, and fowl and game in proportion: which might amount to sixty thousand pounds weight of meat a day. A very plentiful table this!” The Jewish Scriptures speak only of thirty oxen a day, and describe ten of them only as highly fattened, 1 Kings iv. 23.; the authentic documents from whence Voltaire was enabled to correct this account, making them fifty, as well as the proofs we are to suppose he had, of the gigantic size of the animals of Solomon’s age, are secrets he has not thought proper to divulge. It is certain from Dr. Russell, as well as from Shaw and Maillet, that fifty oxen, allowing him right in that point, many of them not very fat, would not weigh the half of sixty thousand pounds in our times, whatever they might do in the East in Solomon’s days.

* He lived about nine hundred years ago.

† Lett. 12. p. 154, 155.

pears in Egypt, on the tables of people of figure. He goes on to inform us, that the tables of the Turks are not delicate, abundance serving with them instead of delicacy ; it being common with them to have the remains of what was served up for the use of a great lord, and eight or ten persons of his family, sufficient for the support of an hundred other persons, who place themselves, one after another, on the ground about the table, cross-legged, like tailors. " So that a dozen of these tables in different parts of a house, and served almost at the same time, are sufficient for a thousand or twelve hundred persons, that a Bey, or other great lord of this country, generally keeps in attendance."

The number of attendants the great men of the East affect, the supposed magnificence of abundance of provision, and the charity in the custom of giving what remains to the poor, all conspired to make the quantity of provisions consumed by these eminent personages, both of more ancient and of more modern times, very large.

Ebn Toulon, as to the magnificence of his table, surpassed all the other kings of Egypt, ever reckoned one of the richest and most fruitful countries in the world. Maillet expresses astonishment at it. How magnificent then, considering the difference of countries, the table of Solomon ! With what royal splendor did he govern Israel ! exceeded only, perhaps, by an after-king of a country, always looked upon as very opulent, always affecting dignity, but far surpassing every

Jewish prince in grandeur, every contemporary king, without any manner of doubt.

OBSERVATION LXV.

Drinking Vessels often made of Gold in the East.

THE magnificence of Solomon, particularly with respect to his drinking-vessels, has not been exceeded by modern Eastern princes.

They were all of gold, and of the purest gold, 1 Kings x. 21. The gold plate of the kings of Persia has been extremely celebrated, and is mentioned in Sir J. Chardin's MS. note on this passage of the sacred historian: he observes in that note, that the plate of the king of Persia is of gold; and that very fine, exceeding the standard of ducats, and equal to those of Venice, which are of the purest gold.

The vessels of gold, we are told in Olearius,* were made by the order of Shah Abbas, esteemed the most glorious of the princes of the Sefi royal family, who died in 1629. It seems that he caused seven thousand two hundred marks of gold to be melted upon this occasion; that his successors made use of it whenever they feasted strangers; and that it consisted chiefly of dishes, pots, flagons, and other vessels for drinking.

* P. 946, 947.

A French mark is eight of their ounces, and is but four grains lighter than an English ounce troy.* Abbas then melted on this occasion near thirty-six thousand English troy ounces of the purest gold, or almost forty-one three-fourths Jewish talents.† Astonishing magnificence of Persia! Nor have we reason to think that of Solomon was inferior. We may believe, sure, his royal drinking-vessels were of equal weight, when the two hundred targets of gold which Solomon made, 1 Kings x. 16., weighed but little less than the drinking-vessels of Shah Abbas.‡ Sir J. Charadin's way of comparing the glory of Solomon, with that of a most illustrious monarch of Persia of late ages, is perhaps one of the most efficacious methods of impressing the mind with an apprehension of the magnificence of this ancient Israelitish king; and, at the same time, appears to be perfectly just.

* Philosophical Transactions Abridged, Vol. VII. part iv. p. 46.

† For, according to Bishop Cumberland, a talent weighed 3000 shekels, and a shekel weighed 219 grains: now 7200 marks = 27.417.600 grains = 125.194 shekels, 41 talents, and 2194 shekels.

‡ 120,000 shekels.

OBSERVATION LXVI.

Horns also used as drinking-vessels in the East.

HORNS also were made use of among the Jews for keeping some liquids, if not for drinking-vessels.

That they were wont sometimes to keep oil in a horn, appears from 1 Sam. xvi. 1, 13., 1 Kings i. 39.; it may however be amusing to hear that they are made use of still in some countries, which are less acquainted with the arts of life than many other places, as we are assured by Sir John Chardin's MS. they are: it is the custom, that he tells us, of Iberia, Colchis, and the adjacent country, where the arts are little practised, to keep liquors in horns, and to drink out of them.*

They were doubtless originally the hollow horns of animals that were used; art might be afterwards employed to hollow them more perfectly; and they might in the days of David be shaped like horns, though made of silver and gold, especially vessels kept in the sanctuary. Such an one, I apprehend, is that horn kept in the cathedral of York, presented to it by one of our Northern princes, as it is supposed, about the beginning of the eleventh century, of which a cop-

* They are used for this purpose in several European countries.—EDIT.

per-plate was not long since published by the Antiquarian Society.*

The horn of Ulphus, kept at York, has a chain fastened to it in two places, by which it might be hung up. It is reasonable to believe the Eastern horns may have the same convenience, though Sir J. Chardin does not mention it. So there is no account of such a chain, in the description that is given us in the *Philosophical Transactions Abridged*, Vol. V. Part II. p. 131, 132, as fixed to the horn of gold, or to the Oldenburg horn of silver, in the royal repository at Copenhagen; yet, as that of Ulphus is so accommodated, there is reason to think that those other Northern horns have their chains too. May not this account for the Prophet's supposing drinking-vessels were hung up, Isa. xxii. 24.?

There is so much conformity between the ancient horns of the North and those now used in the East; both having them of various metals, some of them being bullocks' horns, tipped with gold about the edges, others of ivory, unicorns' horns, &c. and all highly ornamented; and these

* Sir John Chardin mentions such horns in his printed travels; some were horns of the rhinoceros, some of deer, the common sort those of oxen and sheep. He adds, that this custom of using them for drinking cups, and embellishing them, has been all along among the Eastern people, p. 228. These horns were embellished as the richer sort of cups, (which was with precious stones,) and of different proportions. The ordinary ones about eight inches high, and two broad at the top, very black, and polished. He saw these at Tefflis. That at York is, I think, twenty-seven inches high, and about five inches broad at the top according to the plate.

present Eastern horns being apparently derived from ancient usage: that the thought of Isaiah's referring to drinking-horns hung up seems perfectly natural.

They are also of different proportions, as Isaiah supposes they were anciently. A common horn is, according to Sir J. Chardin, eight inches high, and two inches broad at the top: such a horn holds about a quarter of a pint, I apprehend, since I have found a conical glass of that width at top, and half that height, held half that quantity, upon measuring the liquid it contained. But the horn of a very large foreign ox, measured by Sir Hans Sloane, *Philosophical Transactions Abridged*, Vol. VII. p. 442, held in its hollow part exactly five quarters. Such a horn filled with civet, was to have been presented to the Great Mogul, p. 444. The Danish drinking-horn of gold that I was mentioning holds about two quarts. Such differences there might be in the time of Isaiah; some of these suspended drinking-vessels holding no more than the contents of a cup, others as much as a nebel, or whole jug of wine.*

OBSERVATION LXVII.

Effects of Wine upon some Eastern Devotees.

WINE is often the occasion of exciting great emotions of an untoward kind of tenderness

* See *Observ. LXIV.* p. 118.

towards the dead, and of devotion, which last might be the cause of Belshazzar's sending for the sacred vessels taken from the temple at Jerusalem, finding, as the wine operated, a most melting devotion rising towards the idols that he imagined had given the Babylonians power to subdue Jerusalem, and finish the conquest of the Jewish nation.

So have I known a lady, when mellow with strong liquors, burst into a flood of tears, upon mentioning a deceased mother: and Sir J. Chardin has given us a very droll, but painful description of the drunken-bouts of some of the Eastern Christians, as an illustration of the nature of the devotion of Belshazzar towards his idols, when he began to grow drunk. "It is the custom of the greatest part of the Eastern Christians, and above all of the Iberians, and the people of Colchis, when they are drunk, to lift up their eyes to heaven, beat themselves on the breast, to sigh and sob; remorse for their sins awakening, and their fear of future punishment operating afresh."

OBSERVATION LXVIII.

Different Kinds of Wines in the East.

BUT to resume the consideration of the provision that was made for Nehemiah's, table (See Obs. LXIV.) there was prepared for him daily one ox, and six choice sheep, besides fowls; "and once in ten days store of all sorts of wine."

In the East they have no casks, but keep their wine in jugs or flagons, by which means it is commonly a little thick. Such was that d'Arvieux was entertained with at a village near Mount Carmel, of which three jugs were opened for his supper and that of the governor, by the Greeks that inhabited it;* and such is the Eastern wine in common. It was therefore no inconvenience to Nehemiah, to have his wine brought in once in ten days; and his provision for that time must have consisted of a considerable number of these vessels, sufficient to load a little caravan of asses, which, according to Nehem. xiii. 15., they used for bringing wine, as well as other things in to Jerusalem.†

The wines that are produced in different places differ considerably in their qualities. They might not, possibly, in the time of Nehemiah, mind this so much as they did some ages after; but the distinction was too sensible not to be perceived in those early days. The wine of Lebanon, and that of Helbon near Damascus, are mentioned with distinction by the prophets Hosea and Eze-

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 197, 198.

† Niebuhr, in his 16th plate, has, among other things, given an amusing figure of a camel, loaded with earthen vessels of water, fastened very ingeniously, five on a side, by convolutions of cordage; in which manner Nehemiah's wine probably was conveyed to him on asses.

Leban, cheese, and dibs, are commonly, says Dr. R. (MS. note) brought into town by ass-caravans; the leban is contained in long, narrow wooden vessels.—EDIT.

kiel :* and the king of Persia's cup-bearer may naturally be supposed to have as exquisite a taste for wine as any person of that age ; every ten days then he ordered his people to purchase for him all the variety of wines that Judea could afford, which were proper for his table. It was part of the state he assumed as governor of that country.

Red wine, in particular, is more esteemed in the East than white. And we are told, in the travels of Olearius,† that it is customary with the Armenian Christians in Persia, to put Brazil-wood, or saffron, into their wine, to give it a higher colour, when the wine is not so red as they like, they making no account of white wine.‡ He mentions the same thing also in another place.§ These accounts of their putting Brazil-wood or saffron into their wines, to give them a deeper red, seem to discover an energy in the Hebrew word אדם *adam*, which is used Prov. xxiii. 31., that I never remarked any where. It is of the conjugation called Hithpahel, יתאדם *yithadam*, which, according to grammarians, denotes an action that turns upon the agent itself : it is not always, it may be, accurately observed ; but in this case it ought to be taken according to the strictness of grammar, and that it intimates the wine's making itself redder by something put into it: *Look not*

* Lebanon affords excellent wines, even to the present day.—EDIT.

† P. 801.

‡ This, however, Dr. Russell observes, is not the case at Aleppo.—EDIT.

§ P. 776.

on the wine when it maketh itself red. It appears indeed from Isa. lxiii. 2., that some of the wines about Judea were naturally red; but so Olearius supposed those wines to be which he met with in Persia, only more deeply tinged by art; and this colouring it, apparently is to make it more pleasing and tempting to the eye.

There are two other places relating to wine, in which our translators have used the term red; but the original word חמר *chemer*, differs from that in Proverbs, and I should therefore imagine intended another idea; what that might be may, perhaps, appear in the sequel. The word, it is certain, sometimes signifies what is made thick or turbid; so it expresses the thickening water with mud (Psa. lxxvi. 3.) May it not then signify the thickening wine with its lees? It seems plainly to do so in one of the passages: * *In the hand of the LORD is a cup, and the wine is red, (or turbid :) it is full of mixture, and he poureth out the same: but the dregs thereof all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out, and drink them*, Ps. lxxv. 8. The turbidness of wine makes it very inebriating, and consequently expressive of the disorder affliction brings on the mind; thus Thevenot, I remember, tells us† the wine of Shiras in Persia is full of lees, and therefore very heady; to remedy which, they filtrate it through a cloth; and then it is very clear, and free from fumes.

Does not this mixture of the lees with the wine, which the Psalmist speaks of, explain what is

* The other is Isaiah xxvii. 2.

† Part II. p. 126.

meant by mingling of wine so often mentioned in the Old Testament? If it does, then the mingling of wine means the opening the jars of old, and consequently strong, wine; which opening makes the wine somewhat turbid, by mixing the lees with it; they, it seems, having no way of drawing it off fine from those earthen vessels in which it is kept; which we may learn from d'Arvieux's complaint, relating to the wine near Mount Carmel; and so this *mingled wine* stands in opposition to *new wine*, which is, to the eye, an uniform liquor. According to this thought, the mingling of wine, mentioned as a part of the preparation Wisdom had made for an entertainment, Prov. ix. 2., will signify the getting up and opening some jugs of wine ready for drinking; and the being *men of strength to mingle strong drink*, Isa. v. 22., will signify persons able to drink great quantities of old wine, who occasion jar after jar to be opened, and thereby made turbid.

The learned Vitringa,* indeed, explains this mingling it with water, or with spices. But, (not to say that Thevenot affirms,† that the people of the Levant never mingle water with their wine to drink, but drink by itself what water they think proper for the abating the strength of the wine since the ancient custom might have been different,) it cannot surely be of this mixture that the Scriptures oftentimes speak; for the mixture of water with the wine, is the mixture of *temperance and peace, not that of contention and woe*,

* In Com. in Isa. v. 22.

† Part xi. p. 96.

Prov. xxiii. 29, 30. Nor is it so natural to understand it of wine mixed with aromatics, or things of that sort ; these being rather preparation for those that drink but little, and use wine for a medicine, than what they prepare for them that tarry long at the wine.

Something however of this latter kind was anciently in use, as appears from Cant. viii. 2. : *I would cause thee to drink of spiced wine of the juice of my pomegranate*, of wine mixed with the juice of pomegranates. Russell observes, that there are three sorts of pomegranates at Aleppo, the sour, the sweet, and another between both ; and that they are wont to give a grateful acidity to their sauces, by pomegranate or lemon-juice. As then we frequently make use of lemon-juice along with wine, to make a cooling, refreshing liquor in hot weather, as well as in our sauces ; so the spouse proposed to prepare a liquid of much the same kind, with the juice of pomegranates.*

* It is, I think, highly probable, that in the time of the most remote antiquity, pomegranate-juice was used, in those countries, where lemon-juice is now used, with their meat, and in their drinks; and that it was not till afterwards, that lemons came among them : I know not how else to account for the mention of pomegranates in describing the fruitfulness of the Holy Land, Deut. viii. 7, 8., Numb. xx. 5. They would not now, I think, occur in such descriptions: the juice of lemons and oranges have, at present, almost superseded the use of that of pomegranates.* Sir John Chardin, in his MS. supposes that

* This, says Dr. Russell, is by no means the case. The pomegranate is more easily preserved through the winter, and often in cookery preferred to lemon. In describing the fruitfulness of a country, the pomegranate would be mentioned ; and they are cultivated carefully,

Liquors of this kind, leaving out the wine which the Mohammedan religion forbids, are very common in the East at this day. So Dr. Pococke tells us, Vol. II. p. 125., the people of Damascus have their rinfrescoes, which are made of liquorice, lemons, or dried grapes; and two or three pages after, speaking of a plain towards Jordan, he informs us, that liquorice grows there as fern does with us, that they carry the wood for fuel to Damascus, and the root serves to make rinfrescoes: and sherbet, which, according to Dr. Russell, is some syrup, chiefly that of lemons, mixed with water, is in great use, and mentioned by a vast number of authors.*

this pomegranate-wine means, wine made of that fruit, which, he informs us, is made use of in considerable quantities, in several places of the East, and particularly in Persia: his words are, *On fait, en diverses parts de l'Orient, du vin de grenade, nommé roubnar, qu'on transporte par tout. Il y en a sur tout en Perse.*

My reader must determine for himself, whether pomegranate wine, or wine commonly so called mixed with pomegranate-juice, was most probably meant here. The making the first of these was a fact unknown to me, till I saw this manuscript, I confess, though it seems it is made in such large quantities as to be transported.

* Hasselquist mentions some of these sorts of sherbet, and adds an account of some others, telling us that the sweet-scented violet is one of the plants most esteemed by the Egyptians and Turks, not only for its scent and colour, but especially for its great use in sherbet, which they make of violet

even where lemons are plentiful. What Chardin calls *roubnar*, I should not understand to be wine. *Rab al nar* is the inspissated juice of the pomegranate, or the juice of grapes preserved with sugar. Thus they have the *rob al kirres*, cherries, *rob il soose*, liquorice, &c.

These passages, and particularly what Pococke says of the making rinfrescoes with roots of liquorice, sufficiently explain the *sorbitiunculae delicatae*, and the *contrita olera*, of St. Jerom, page 239.

Upon occasion of that passage, I would also take the liberty of proposing, as a query, whether the drinking wine in bowls, complained of by the Prophet, Amos vi. 6., is to be understood of the quantity drunk, or of the magnificence of the vessel made use of. The other particulars seem rather to refer to the magnificence of their repasts than the quantity consumed ; and St. Jerom speaks of a *shell*, the porcelain of those ancient times, as a piece of luxury in drinking undoubtedly, opposing it to a cup : may not the Prophet's complaint be of the like kind with that of this Father of the Chris-

sugar dissolved in water, especially when they intend to entertain their guests in an elegant manner.* He then tells us of capillaire mixed with water ; and that the grandees sometimes add ambergris, which is the highest pitch of luxury and indulgence of their appetites, p. 254. Sir J. Chardin, in a MS. note on a passage of the Apocrypha, similar to Neh. viii. 10., seems to suppose that drinking the sweet refers to the great quantities of sherbet used in the East ; but if they are of as ancient date as the days of Nehemiah, this passage will hardly prove the fact.—The liquorice root serves to make a decoction, which is clarified and drank cold.

* They have what they call *dry sherbet* that is, the juice of violets or other acid fruits, and especially of the *rheum ribes*, which are incorporated with a syrup of sugar, which, when hot, is thicker than thick honey ; and afterwards made dry enough to be preserved in flat wooden boxes. Of this they can make occasionally sherbet on the road, by dissolving a small quantity in water. So Dr. Russell in his MS. notes. EDIT.

tian church, and relate rather to the magnificence of the drinking-vessel than to the quantity they drank? Erasmus, in his notes on that place of St. Jerom, tells us, that Virgil speaks of the like piece of grandeur :

Ut Conchâ bibat, et Sarrano indormiat Ostro.

GEOR. II. v. 506.

That he may drink from the shell, and sleep on Tyrian purple.

Though the common reading is *gemma*, (a gem,) instead of *concha*, (a shell.) I have seen very beautiful and highly-valued vessels made of shells ; and the Red-sea, which is celebrated for producing some of the finest sea-shells in the world,* is near Judea ; and gave an opportunity to the ancient Jews of introducing vessels of this kind among their other precious utensils. Nor are they now only esteemed by our European Virtuosi : the people of the East value them : so shells were sent, along with fruit, for a present to Dr. Pococke, when at Tor near Mount Sinai.†

* See Shaw, p. 448.

† Vol. I. p. 145.—Cups of the most beautiful appearance, and ornamented in the most costly manner, are formed out of the *Nautilus*. Such drinking vessels are frequent in China and elsewhere. Perhaps to such beautiful vessels as these, containing the most costly liquor, the Apostle alludes, 2 Cor. iv. 7. ΕΧΟΜΕΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΟΣΡΑΧΙΝΟΙΣ ΣΚΕΥΕΣΙΝ. *We have this treasure in earthen vessels, literally, vessels made of shell, that the excellency of the power might be of God and not of us.* The *shell*, the body, is beautiful, though frail ; the *treasure*, the light and grace of CHRIST, is very glorious ; but the *power* of God, by which the light is kept burning and the body preserved from death, infinitely surpasses all.—EDIT.

OBSERVATION LXIX.

Sweet Wines much esteemed in the East.

IF I be right in my conjecture concerning mingled wine, old wine must have been most esteemed in the East, as well as the West ; and that it was so, whether my conjecture be right or not, is beyond contradiction apparent from those words of our LORD, Luke v. 39., *No man also having drunk old wine, straightway desireth new ; for he saith, The old is better.* But how then came the prophet Joel to threaten the Israelitish drinkers of wine, ch. i. 5., with the cutting off the *new wine* from their mouth ?

It is the fault of the translation, undoubtedly, that occasions the query. The Hebrew word *דבש* *âsees*, should be translated *sweet wine*. Sweet as the new-trodden juice of grapes, if you will : but old wines of this sort, as appears from the ancient Eastern translators of the Septuagint, were chiefly esteemed formerly ; for that which our version renders *royal wine in abundance, according to the state of the king*, (Esth. i. 7.,) they translate *much and sweet wines, such as the king himself drank*.*

* Οἶνος πολὺς ἡδύς, ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπίνεν. Perhaps it was with a view to this, that the soldiers offered our LORD vinegar, (wine that was become very sour) in opposition to *sweet wine* : for St. Luke tells us they did this in mockery, ch. xxiii. 36., *And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, and offering him vinegar.* Medicated

A remark that Dr. Russell makes, on the white wines of Aleppo, may help to explain this. They are palatable, but thin and poor; and seldom keep sound above a year.* Some of the Eastern wines then are poor, and will not keep, while those that were capable of being kept till they were old, and which those that loved drinking desired, were those which were sweet, and consequently proper subjects for the threatening of the Prophet.†

Agreeably to this, the same Prophet describes‡ a state of great prosperity by the mountains dropping down sweet wine: that is, that the mountains of Judea should not produce wine like the thin and poor wines of Aleppo, but that which was rich, and capable of being long kept, and by that means, of acquiring the greatest pleasant-

wine, to deaden their sense of pain, was wont, we are told, to be given to Jewish criminals, when about to be put to death, (see Lightfoot on Matt. xxvii. 34. ;) but they gave our Lord vinegar, and that in mockery—in mockery (as they did other things) of his claim to royalty. But the force of this does not appear, if we do not recollect the quality of the wines drank anciently by princes, which, it seems, were of the *sweet* kind.

* Vol. I. p. 80.

† Accordingly, the MS. C. describes the Eastern wine as not so bad for the head as those of Europe, and particularly the green Rhenish wines, and the heavy wines of Orleans.

Dr. Russell says, (MS. note) that the wine of the preceding year might be called *old*, in comparison with wine newly made. The sweet or muscadine wines, the Cyprus excepted, do not keep long.—EDIT.

‡ Chap. iii. 18.

ness. The same word *סודי* is very properly translated *sweet wine* in Amos ix. 13.; but our commentators have passed over this circumstance very lightly.

But what completes and finishes the illustration of this passage of the first of Joel, is a curious and amusing observation of Dr. Shaw's concerning the wine of Algiers, though the Doctor has not applied it to that purpose. "The wine of Algiers, before the locusts destroyed the vineyards, in the years 1723 and 1724, was not inferior to the best Hermitage, either in briskness of taste or flavour. But since that time it is much degenerated; having not hitherto (1732) recovered its usual qualities."* It is a desolation of their vineyards by locusts that Joel threatens, which it seems injures their produce for many years, as to briskness and flavour; and consequently nothing was more natural than to call the drunkards of Israel to mourn on that account.

The same word occurs Isa. xlix. 26. Vitringa, in his comment on that place, supposes it signifies *Must* there, (that is, wine just pressed out from the grapes;) but Mons. Lemery, a celebrated French chemist, tells us, that *Must* will not inebriate, which the prophet is there speaking of, but produces a very different effect. Our translators then have done much better in translating it *sweet wine*; such as was used in royal palaces for its gratefulness; was capable of being kept to a great age, and consequently with which people were apt to get drunk.

A few generations ago, sweet wines were those that were most esteemed in England itself.

Sir Thomas Brown explains* the new wine, mentioned Acts ii. 13., after the same manner, supposing it signifies not new wine properly speaking, which was not to be found at Pentecost, but some generous, strong, and sweet wine, wherein more especially lay the power of inebriation: I do not propose this therefore as a new thought; but perhaps the additional illustrations, which are not to be found in Sir Thomas, may be agreeable to the reader.

OBSERVATION LXX.

The Easterns drink their Wine before Meat.

THE time of drinking wine, in the East, is at the beginning, not at the close, of entertainments, as it is with us.†

Sir John Chardin has corrected an error of a French commentator as to this point, in his manuscript note on Esther v. 6. It seems the commentator had supposed the banquet of wine meant the *dessert*, because this is our custom in the West; but he observes “that the Eastern people,

* *Miscell. Tracts*, p. 8, at the close of his works in folio.

† Dr. Russell says, (MS. note,) in Syria it is only among the Christians and Jews that wine is produced at table; and then at the same time with the victuals, or when fruits, nuts, &c. are brought by way of dessert. They commonly drink a small cup of *brandy* before sitting down.—EDIT.

on the contrary, drink and discourse before eating ; and that after the rest is served up, the feast is quickly over, they eating very fast, and every one presently withdrawing. They conduct matters thus at the royal table, and at those of their great men."

Dr. Castell, in his *Lexicon*, seems to have been guilty of the same fault, by a quotation annexed to that note.

Chardin's account agrees with that of Olearius, who tells us, that when the ambassadors he attended were at the Persian court, " at a solemn entertainment, the floor of the hall was covered with a cotton cloth, which was covered with all sorts of fruits and sweetmeats, in basins of gold. That with them was served up excellent Shiras wine. That after an hour's time the sweetmeats were removed, to make way for the more substantial part of the entertainment, such as rice, boiled and roasted mutton, fowl, game, &c. That after having been at table an hour and a half, warm water was brought, in an ewer of gold, for washing ; and grace being said, they began to retire without speaking a word, according to the custom of the country, as also did the ambassadors soon after.*

This is Olearius's account, in short : by which it appears that wine was brought first ; that the time of that part of the entertainment was double to the other : and that immediately after eat-

* P. 709—712. But Dr. Russell says, this custom is not followed in *Syria*.—EDIT.

ing, they withdrew. This was the practice of the modern court of Persia, and probably might be so in the days of Ahasuerus. Unluckily, Diodati and Dr. Castell did not attend to this circumstance, in speaking of the banquet of wine prepared by Queen Esther.

OBSERVATION LXXI.

Libations of Wine still made in the East.

THAT account that the MS. C. gives us, of the solemnity with which they begin their feasts in Mingrelia and Georgia, is extremely amusing to the imagination; but I very much question, whether the cup of salvation, of which the Psalmist speaks,* was made use of, as he supposes, just in the same manner.

“It is the custom in Mingrelia and Georgia, and some other Eastern countries, for people, before they begin a feast, to go out abroad, and with eyes turned to heaven, to pour out a cup of wine on the ground.” From the Ethiopic version he imagines the like custom obtains in Ethiopia.

This may be considered as a picture of what the idolatrous Israelites did, when they poured out drink-offerings to the queen of heaven, Jer. xliv. 17, &c.; what Jacob did more purely in the patriarchal times, when he poured out a drink-offering on the pillar he set up, Gen. xxxv. 14.: but it does not follow, that any thing of this sort was

* Psalm cxvi. 13.

done in their common feasts ; or was ever done by David.* It is certain the modern Jews, when they annually celebrate the deliverance of their forefathers in Egypt, take a cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the LORD, (singing a portion of the book of Psalms,) but they drink the wine, and do not pour it upon the ground ; nor do they practise this effusion of wine in their more common feasts.†

OBSERVATION LXXII.

Of their Wine-Presses.

WINE-presses were not moveable things ; and, according to a parable of our LORD, were some how made by *digging*, Matt. xxi. 33.

Sir J. Chardin found the wine-presses in Persia were made after the same manner, being formed, he tells us in his MS., by making hollow places in the ground, lined with mason's work. They *dig* then wine-presses there.

* The liquid which David is said to have poured out before the LORD, 2 Sam. xxiii. 16., and 1 Chron. xi. 18., was *water*, not *wine*.

† Buxtorfii Syn. Jud. cap. 12. Dr. Russell observes, that they do this in some places on their *marriage* ceremonies.—
EDIT.

OBSERVATION LXXIII.

The reason why Wine is often poured from Vessel to Vessel.

THEY frequently pour wine from vessel to vessel in the East: for when they begin one, they are obliged immediately to empty it into smaller vessels, or into bottles, or it would grow sour.*

This is an observation of the same writer, who remarks, that the Prophet alludes to it, Jer. xlviii. 11., in the case of Moab. According to which it should seem to be hinted, that Moab had continued in the full possession of the country of their ancestors, without such diminutions and transmigrations as Israel had experienced.

OBSERVATION LXXIV.

Snow put into the Wine in order to cool it.

DR. POCOCKE, in the passage quoted under a preceding Observation, relating to the rinfrescoes of Damascus, tells us, that the people of that

* From the jars, (says Dr. Russell, MS. note) in which the wine ferments, it is drawn off into *demyans*, which contain perhaps twenty quart bottles; and from those into bottles for use: but as these bottles are generally not well washed, the wine is often sour. The more careful use pint bottles, or half-pint bottles, and cover the surface with a little sweet oil.—
EDIT.

place put snow into their wine and rinfrescoes. This, he supposes, is not so wholesome a way as that of the Europeans, who only cool their liquors with it ; but its antiquity, not its wholesomeness, is the point we are to consider.

Gejerus doubts whether the custom was so ancient as the days of Solomon ; but surely Prov. xxv. 13.* puts the matter out of question : the royal preacher could not speak of a fall of snow in the time of harvest, that must have been incommoding, instead of pleasurable, which it is supposed to be ; he must be understood then to mean liquids cooled some how by snow.

The snow of Lebanon was celebrated for this use of it, in the time of Jacobus de Vitriaco ; for observing† that snow is rarely found in the Holy Land, excepting on very high mountains, such as Libanus, he goes on, and says, that all summer, and especially in the sultry dog-days, and the month of August, snow of an extreme cold nature is carried from Mount Libanus, two or three days' journey, that being mixed with wine, it may make it cold as ice. This snow is kept from being melted by the heat of the sun, or warmth

* Vide Poli Syn. in Prov. xxv. 13.

† Gesta Dei, p. 1098. Nives autem nisi circa montes altitudine nimia præminentes, cujusmodi est Libanus, in terrâ rarissimè reperiuntur. In toto autem æstivo tempore, et maximè in diebus canicularibus ferventissimis, et in mense Augusti, nix frigidissima à monte Libano per duas vel plures dietas defertur, ut vino commixta, tanquam glaciem ipsum frigidum reddat. Conservantur autem prædictæ nives sub paleâ, ne fervore solis, seu calore aeris, dissolvantur.

of the air, he tells us, by its being covered up with straw.

The snow of this mountain was in high estimation in the time of the Prophet Jeremiah, for the same purpose, Jer. xviii. 14. But this consideration is not sufficient perfectly to explain that obscure verse.

OBSERVATION LXXV.

Vinegar and Lemon-Juice used, as Drinks in the East.

HOWEVER, though the gratefulness of liquors cooled by snow is, I apprehend, referred to in Prov. xxv. 13., yet I very much question whether the supposition of those commentators is just, who imagine those liquors were drank by the reapers. All that Solomon teaches us is, that the coolness given by snow to liquids was extremely grateful in the time of harvest, in the summer that is; but as to the reapers themselves, vinegar, mentioned in the book of Ruth as part of the provision for them, seems to be a much more suitable thing for persons heated with such strong exercise, than liquors cooled by snow.*

Commentators have frequently remarked the refreshing quality of vinegar. I shall not repeat

* Dr. Russell observes, (MS. note) that snow is plentiful at Tripoli; and that the people never mind being hot when they can get the snow to cool their drink with.—EDIT.

their observations, but rather would ask, why the Psalmist prophetically complains of the giving him vinegar to drink, in that deadly thirst, which in another Psalm he describes by the tongue's cleaving to the jaws, if it be so refreshing? Its refreshing quality cannot be doubted; but may it not be replied, that besides the gall which he mentions, and which ought not to be forgotten, vinegar itself, refreshing as it is, was only made use of by the meanest people? The juice of lemons is what those of higher life now use; and as the juice of pomegranate is used at Aleppo in their sauces, according to Dr. Russell, as well as that of lemons, to give them a grateful acidity; so if lemons were not anciently known, the juice of pomegranates might of old be used, by persons of distinction, when they wanted an acid in common, as we know it is mentioned in one particular case in a royal song.* So Pitts tells us, in the beginning of his account of his sorrows, that the food that he, and the rest had, when first taken by the Algerines, was generally only five or six spoonsful of vinegar, half a spoonful of oil, a few olives, with a small quantity of black biscuit, and a pint of water a day.† On the other hand, Russell relates, that when they would treat a person at this day with distinguished honour in the East, they present him with sherbet, that is, water mingled with syrup of lemons. When a royal personage has vinegar given him in his thirst, the refreshment of a slave, of a wretched prisoner, instead

* Cant. viii. 2.

† P. 6.

of that of a prince, he is greatly dishonoured, and may well complain of it as a bitter insult, or represents such insults by this image.

OBSERVATION LXXVI.

Of Lemons, Oranges, and Citrons.

BUT from the use of their juice let us go on to consider that of lemons themselves, or their kindred fruit, citrons and oranges.

Maillet every where expresses a strong prejudice in favour of Egypt: its air, its water, and all its productions, are incomparable. He acknowledges, however, its apples and pears are very bad, and that in this respect Egypt is as little favoured as almost any place in the world; that some, and those very indifferent, that are carried thither from Rhodes and Damascus, are sold extremely dear.* As the best apples of Egypt, which are however very indifferent, are brought thither by sea from Rhodes, and by land from Damascus, we may believe that Judea, an intermediate country between Egypt and Damascus, has none that are of any value. This is abundantly confirmed by d'Arvieux, who observed that the fruits that were most commonly eaten by the Arabs of Mount Carmel, were figs, grapes, dates, apples and pears, which they have from Damascus; apricots, both fresh and dried, melons, pasteques or water-melons, which they make use of in summer instead of water, to quench

* Lett. ix. p. 15, 16.

their thirst;* the Arabs then of Judea can find no apples there worth eating, but have them brought from Damascus, as the people of Egypt have.

Can it be imagined then the apple trees of which the Prophet Joel speaks, chap. i. 12., and which he mentions among the things that gave joy to the inhabitants of Judea, were apple-trees properly speaking? Our translators must surely have been mistaken here, since the apples the Arabs of Judea eat at this day are of foreign growth, and at the same time but very indifferent.

Bishop Patrick, in his commentary on the Canticles,† supposes that the word תפוחים *tappucheem*, translated *apples*, is to be understood of the fruit to which we give that name, and also of oranges, citrons, peaches, and all fruits that breathe a fragrant odour: but the justness of this may be questioned. The Roman authors, it is true, call pomegranates, quinces, citrons, peaches, apricots, all by the common name of apples, only adding an epithet to distinguish them from the species of fruit we call by that name, and from one another; but it does not appear that the Hebrew writers do so too. The pomegranate certainly has its peculiar name; and the book of Canticles seems to mean a particular species of trees by this term, since it prefers them to all the trees of the wood. This author then does not seem to be in the right, when he gives such a vague sense to the word.

What sort of tree, and of fruit then, are we to

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 201.

† On Cant. vii. 8.

understand by the word, since, probably, one particular species is designed by it, and it cannot be supposed to be the proper apple-tree? There are five places besides this in Joel, in which the word occurs; and from them we learn that it was thought the noblest of the trees of the wood, and that its fruit was very sweet or pleasant, Cant. ii. 3. of the colour of gold, Prov. xxv. 11. extremely fragrant, Cant. vii. 8. and proper for those to smell to that were ready to faint, Cant. ii. 5. The fifth passage, Cant. viii. 5., contains nothing particular, I think; but the description the other four give, perfectly answers the *citron-tree* and its fruit.

It may be thought possible, that the orange and the lemon-tree, which now grow in Judea in considerable numbers,* as well as the citron, equally answers the description. They do: but it is to be remembered that it is very much doubted by eminent naturalists, Ray in particular, † whether they were known to the ancients; whereas it is admitted that they were acquainted with the citron. The story that Josephus tells us, ‡ of the pelting King Alexander Jannæus, by the Jews, with their citrons, at one of their feasts, plainly proves that they were acquainted with it some generations before the birth of our LORD; and it is supposed to have been of much longer standing in that country. §

* Thevenot observed the gardens at Naplouse, Part i. p. 215. full of orange as well as citron-trees; and Egmont and Heyman saw lemon-trees at Hattin and Saphet in Galilee. Vol. II. p. 30—48. See also Dr. Pococke's Travels, Vol. II. p. 67.

† Dr. Shaw appears to be of the same opinion, p. 341.

‡ Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 13.

§ Dr. Russell says, (MS. note) that citrons are brought

Citron-trees are very noble, being large, their leaves very beautiful, ever continuing upon the tree, of an exquisite smell, and affording a most delightful shade : it might well, therefore, be said, *As the citron-tree among the trees of the wood ; so is my beloved among the sons.* Its fruit is also of the colour of gold, according to Prov. xxv. 11. Maundrell seems to have had the same sort of sensibility ; for, describing the palace of the emir Faccardine, at Beroot, on the coast of Syria, he prefers the orange-garden to every thing else that he met with there, though it was only a large quadrangular plat of ground, divided into sixteen lesser squares ; but the walks were so shaded with orange-trees of a large spreading size, and so *gilded* with fruit, that he thought nothing could be more perfect in its kind ; or, if it had been duly cultivated, could have been more delightful. When we recollect that the difference between citron-trees and orange is not very discernible,* excepting by the fruit, which are both however of the colour of *gold*, this passage of Maundrell may serve as a comment on that passage of this ancient royal song, which I mentioned in the beginning of the paragraph.

The fragrancy of the fruit is admirable : with great propriety then might the nose, or breath of the spouse, be compared to citrons ; whereas the

from Jerusalem to Aleppo for the Jews, on their great feasts.—
EDIT.

* A brown redness in the young leaves, is, I think, the only vulgar distinction by which an observer is led to pronounce it a citron-tree, where there is no fruit.

energy of the comparison it lost when understood of apples, which are at least not near so fragrant, and in the East are very indifferent. *

Citrons also are well known to be extremely grateful to the taste, and must be infinitely more proper to be smelled to by those that are ready to faint, their peel being, according to the writers on the *Materia Medica*, exhilarating to the heart, as their juice cordial and refreshing. *Stay me with flagons*, with wine that is, according to the common explanation, which was given to those that were faint, 2 Sam. xvi. 2. *Comfort me with apples*, with citrons, which are so refreshing and exhilarating. Egmont and Heyman tell us of an Arabian, who was in a great measure brought to himself, when overcome with wine, by the help of citrons and coffee. † How far this may be capable of illustrating the ancient practice of relieving those that were near fainting, by the use of citrons, I leave to medical gentlemen to determine.

I do not however, by all this, pretend that I am here giving the world a new thought, when I suppose the citron is to be understood in these passages instead of the apple-tree. It has given me pleasure to find that the Chaldee paraphrast, on Cant. ii. 3. understood this word in the same way; but the distinctness with which I have proposed these matters, and the illustration I have given of the particulars, may perhaps lay some little claim to

* It is, however, a common saying in the East, concerning any thing, the flavour of which is very pleasing, *it smells like an apple*.—EDIT.

† Vol. II. p. 36.

that novelty which the Reader will expect in these Observations.

I will only farther add, that to the manner of serving up these citrons in his court, Solomon seems to refer, when he says, *A word fitly spoken is like this fruit served up in vessels of silver, curiously wrought* : whether, as Maimonides supposes, wrought with open-work like baskets, or curiously chased, it nothing concerns us to determine. But it may not be improper to observe, that this magnificence was not, we have reason to suppose, very common at that time, since the fruit that was presented to d'Arvieux, by the grand emir of the Arabs, was brought in nothing better than a painted vessel of wood : * to an antique apparatus of vessels for fruit, perhaps of this painted wood-kind, Solomon opposes the magnificence of his court.

Sir John Chardin, in his MS. note on this passage of Solomon, understands the words as referring to a vessel adorned in a different manner from what I mentioned in the last paragraph. I ought not to deprive my reader of an opportunity of comparing his sentiments with what I have been proposing, and therefore I shall set down his supposition here. “ They damaskeen the gold in Persia, and give it the colour of steel : they do the same to silver. So that, without being engraved, it appears in figures ; is more catching to the eye ; and is very pleasing.” † Every thing curious in that

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 11.

† On damasquine l'or en Perse, et on luy donne une couleur d'acier ; et a l'argent aussi ; en sorte que sans estre gravé il est figuré, ce qui eclate, et parait d'avantage, et est fort agréable.

age made its way, we may believe, into the court of King Solomon ; but it may be questioned whether this art was then known ; and if it were, whether so generally as to be alluded to in a writing designed for public instruction.

OBSERVATION LXXVII.

Superior Excellence of the Pistachio Nuts of Syria.

SIR J. CHARDIN supposes, * as well as Dr. Shaw, † that pistachio-nuts constituted one part of Jacob's present to Joseph.

Adding, that the pistachios of Syria are the best in the world. A circumstance I do not remember to have met with elsewhere : ‡ and as it serves to confirm these expositions of part of a passage, which Sir John observes, has very much embarrassed commentators, I thought it an observation worth preserving.

OBSERVATION LXXVIII.

Remarks on Ziba's Present to David.

THE marks of distinction of that fruit which Ziba presented unto David, in his flight from Ab-

* In a MS. note on Gen. xliii. 11.

† P. 145.

‡ But Galen has made the same observation ; for he says, that the pistachios of Aleppo are preferable to all others.—

EDIT.

salom, with bread, raisins, and wine, are not so many as those relating to the citron perhaps ; they however deserve consideration.

Ziba met David, according to the sacred historian, (2 Sam. xvi. 1.) with a couple of asses ; and upon them two hundred loaves of bread, a hundred branches of raisins, a hundred of summer fruits, and a bottle of wine. These summer-fruits, the Septuagint suppose, were dates, (*Φοινixες*) ; but the more common opinion is, that they were figs, * which, it seems, was that also of the Chaldee paraphrast. Grotius, however, supposes † the original word signifies the fruits of trees in general.

I cannot adopt any of these opinions. If the notes of distinction are not numerous enough, or sufficiently clear, to determine with precision what the fruit was, I believe they are sufficient to satisfy us that these authors were mistaken. We may gather three things relating to them : that they were of some considerable size, since their quantity was estimated by tale ; that they came before the bean-season was ended, for after this we find that the inhabitants of the country beyond Jordan, sent to David, along with other provisions, quantities of beans, (2 Sam. xviii. 28.) they being things, according to Dr. Shaw, that, after they are boiled, and stewed with oil and garlic, constitute the principal food, in the spring, of persons of all distinctions ; ‡ and they were thought, by Ziba, a suitable refreshment to those that were travelling in a wil-

* See Dr. Shaw, p. 144.

† Vide Grot. in Jer. xl. 10.

‡ P. 140.

derness, where it was to be supposed they would be thirsty as well as hungry. *

Nothing then could be more unhappy, or more strongly mark out the inattention of the translators of the Septuagint, (for it cannot be imagined they were ignorant of these matters,) than the rendering this word, (in this place,) *dates*, which are neither produced in summer, nor suited to allay the heat of that season: Dr. Pococke observing that they are not ripe till November, and that they are esteemed of a hot nature, Providence seeming to have designed them, as they are warm food, to comfort the stomach, he thinks, during the cold season, in a country where it has not given wine, † for he is there speaking concerning Egypt.

They could not be figs, I think: for, as Dr. Shaw observes in the general, that the spring is the time for beans, and Dr. Russell more particularly, that April and May are the months for this sort of pulse at Aleppo, after which they disappear; so the first of these authors informs us that the Boccore, or early fig, is not produced till June; and the fig properly so called, which they preserve and make up into cakes, rarely before August. ‡ He, indeed, elsewhere observes, that now and then a few figs are ripe six weeks or more before the full season, § and consequently in the beginning of May, in the bean-season; but then, as a hundred of these would have been but a small quantity, (for they are not things of a large size,) so they would,

* Compare 2 Sam. xvii. 29. with 2 Sam. xvi. 2.

† Trav. into the East, Vol. I. p. 206.

‡ P. 144.

§ P. 343.

doubtless, in such a case, have been presented as rarities to the king, for his own eating ; * whereas the historian expressly tells us, that Ziba told David, the summer fruits, as well as the bread, were for the young men, his servants that is, to eat ; accordingly, Bishop Patrick supposes, in his Commentary, that if any thing was particularly designed for David's own support, it was the raisins. To this may be added, that Josephus, who mentions not the particulars of Ziba's present, speaks elsewhere of summer-fruits as growing in places that are well watered ; † which is not the case of the fig-tree, according to Columella's representation. ‡

Nor could, by these summer-fruits, be meant, as Grotius supposes, fruit produced by trees in general ; for most of these fruits are autumnal, while those that were meant were contemporary with beans. Accordingly, they are expressly distinguished from grapes and olives, Jer. xl. 10, 12., which are two of the principal productions of the trees of that country ; nor could they be pomegranates, which are a third, and often spoken of in the descriptions that the Scriptures give us of the fertility of the Holy Land ; § for pomegranates are not ripe till August. || There are some trees that produce their fruit indeed in the bean-season, the almond in the beginning of April, and the apricot in May, of which last the fruit is in high repute

* These are those figs before summer, I imagine, that Isaiah speaks of, ch. xxviii. 4.

† Dr. Shaw, p. 27.

‡ Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. ch. 6.

§ Numb. xiii. 23. ; xx. 5. Deut. viii. 8.

|| Shaw, p. 145.

at this time in the Holy Land;* and those of Damascus are preserved in different ways, Dr. Pococke tells us, and in particular are exported in large quantities, made into thin dried cakes, which, when eaten with bread, are a very cooling and agreeable food in summer;† but then it is questioned whether the apricot was known in the time of Ziba in Judea;‡ and almonds would not have been brought in so small a quantity as a hundred.

When then I find that *water-melons* grow spontaneously in these hot countries,§ are made use of by the Arabs of the Holy Land, in summer instead of water, to quench their thirst,|| and are purchased as of the greatest use to travellers in thirsty deserts;¶ and that cucumbers are very much used still in that country, to mitigate the heat;** I am very much inclined to believe these summer-fruits were not the produce of trees, but of this class of herbs which creep along the ground, and produce fruits full of a cooling moisture, and very large in proportion to the size of the plant. They could scarcely, however, be *water-melons*, I imagine, because they do not begin to gather them before June;†† but *cucumbers*, which come in May, and were actually eaten in Galilee, the latter end of that month, by Dr. Pococke, he having stopped at an Arab tent, where they prepared him eggs, and sour

* Voy dans la Pal. p. 201.

† Trav. into the East, Vol. II. p. 126.

‡ See Dr. Shaw, p. 341.

§ See Dr. James's Dispen.

|| La Roque, Voy. dans la Pal. p. 201.

¶ Egmont and Heyman's Trav. Vol. II. p. 144.

** See Pococke's Trav. Vol. II. p. 75.

†† Shaw and Russell.

milk, he tells us, cutting into it raw cucumbers, as a cooling diet in that season, which he found very hot. Cucumbers continued at Aleppo to the end of July, and are brought again to market in September and October, and consequently are contemporaries with grapes and olives, according to Jer. xl. 10—12, * as well as with beans and lentils. Dr. Russell also tells us, that the squash comes in towards the end of September, and continues all the year; but that the orange-shaped pumpkin is more common in the summer-months. Of one or other of these kinds of fruit, I should think the writer of 2 Sam. designed to be understood: they are all, more or less, of considerable size; they are contemporary with beans; and fit for them that have to travel through a dry wilderness, in the latter part of the spring, when the weather grows hot, as Pococke found it; about which time, (from the circumstance of the beans and the lentils,) it is plain that David fled from Absalom.

If this be allowed, it will appear that they were called summer-fruits, from their being eaten to allay the summer heats; not from their being dried in the summer, as Vatablus strangely imagines; † nor from their being produced only at that time of the year; for this passage shews, that they were come to maturity before beans went out, and consequently before summer.

* If the term, translated summer-fruits, signifies all fruits of this class of plants, they might be melons that came to Gedaliah gathered; though they could not well be the things Ziba carried to David, which, more probably, were cucumbers.

† Vide Poli Syn. in Jer. xl. 10. 3

OBSERVATION LXXIX.

Of Music in the Eastern Feasts.

MUSIC so universally attends the Eastern feasts, that I should hardly make this chapter complete without some account of it, and in particular of the *tabret*, which Isaiah describes as used in their feasts along with wine, chap. v. 12.

I mention this instrument in particular, because I have made several remarks relative to it.

The first is, that the original word תוף *tuph*, translated *tabret*, is to be met with about twenty times in the Hebrew bible. About half that number of times it is translated *tabret*, and as many times *timbrel*. How unhappily perplexing is this ! It is of very little consequence perhaps, on various accounts, which word was used in our version ; but as there is but one in the original invariably, where *tabret* is used and where *timbrel* in our version, it would certainly have been expedient to have fixed upon one English word. What is more extraordinary, where these words occur, there is no intimation in the margin of any of these places that the other word might have been equally well made use of, excepting in Jer. xxxi. 4., where in the text it is rendered *tabret*, in the margin *timbrel*. The *tabret* and the *timbrel* of the Scriptures do not mean two different instruments ; the word in the original is one in all the places in which those two words occur.

Secondly, Whatever instrument of music was meant by the original word, it was made use of, we may be positive, by females. Exod. xv. 20., Judges xi. 34., 1 Sam. xviii. 6., Psal. lxxviii. 25., Jer. xxxi. 4., are incontrovertible proofs of it. I think we may be sure it was played on by men too, from 1 Sam. x. 5. I do not mention 2 Sam. vi. 5., and 1 Chron. xiii. 8. here, because what is said Psalm lxxviii. 25. renders their evidence dubious.

Thirdly, Sir John Chardin, in one of his MSS. after describing an Eastern entertainment of music from Dr. Castell's Lexicon, in terms exactly of the same import with Dr. Russell's account of the Aleppine *diff*, tells us that the Eastern women hardly make use of any other instruments but these. There are two sorts of them, he says ; one has a membrane of skin, the other not ; and this last kind is most used in the Indies, on account of the great humidity there. And having afterwards remarked that the passages he had cited expressed women's playing on this instrument, he repeats it again that the Eastern women scarcely touch any other instrument. If the female music of antiquity was as limited as it is now in the East, (and I cannot help remarking, that the passages I have cited above, which speak of the women's playing on music, seem very much to limit them to timbrels or tabrets,) they had then but one sort of instrument that they commonly played upon.

My reader will now be curious to know, what Dr. Russell says about the *diff*—The *diff* then,

according to him, “is a hoop, (sometimes with pieces of brass fixed in it to make a jingling) over which a piece of parchment is distended. It is beat with the fingers, and is the true tympanum of the ancients, as appears from its figure in several relievos.”*

The ladies that do me the honour to peruse these papers will not be pleased, I am afraid, with this description ; but as Russell tells us just before, that the *diff* serves chiefly to beat time to the voice, it is possible it might be used only to regulate those fine voices of the damsels of Israel, which had no other attendant music, while the voices of their males, according to this writer, “is the worst of all their music, for they bellow so hideously, that it spoils what without it would be in some degree harmonious.”

Dr. Russell describes but one kind of instrument of this sort.† The hoop is covered with a skin at Aleppo ; and as the humidity of the Holy Land is not greater, doubtless so were the Jewish timbrels or tabrets. As it is beaten with their fingers, and those fingers are applied to a skin stretched over a hollow hoop, the description gives great life to the words of the Prophet Nahum, who compares women’s beating on their breasts, in deep anguish, to their playing on a tabret, chap. ii. 7.

* Vol. I. p. 154.

† Dr. Russell (MS. note) says, there is but one kind of the *diff*, but they are of different *sizes*.—EDIT.

OBSERVATION LXXX.

Different Kinds of Musical Instruments used in the East.

AN attempt to ascertain with exactness all the kinds of musical instruments, mentioned in Holy Writ, would probably be vain ; certainly it would be useless, since in general the knowing that the sacred writer is speaking of music is sufficient for us. However, where things present themselves, without any attending difficulty, it would be wrong to neglect such notices ; and for this reason I would observe here, that another instrument played upon in the Jewish feasts, according to Isaiah v. 12., may be determined without scruple, I apprehend, to be a *bagpipe*.

Dr. Russell observes of the *diff*, mentioned under the preceding Observation, that it exactly answers the Roman *tympanum*, as it appears in ancient relievos ; he also proves, by a quotation from Juvenal, that the Romans had the *tympanum* from Syria ; this Syrian instrument then is just what it was seventeen or eighteen hundred years ago. The same reasons that have kept it unaltered so many years, probably operated as many generations before that ; and might equally preserve others of their musical instruments unchanged.

After mentioning the musical instruments they use at Aleppo, Dr. Russell adds, “ Besides the above-mentioned instruments, they have likewise a sort of a *bagpipe*, which numbers of idle fel-

lows play upon round the skirts of the town, making it a pretence to ask a present of such as pass.”*

An instrument used by the vulgar may be deemed to be as little liable to alteration as any ; consequently this bagpipe may be imagined to be very ancient.

And when I find that the same word נבל *Nebel*, that signifies a goat's skin vessel, formed of the outer skin of that animal tied up close at the feet, and gathered together at the neck, used for carrying wine and other liquids in, signifies also an ancient musical instrument, I am strongly prompted to conclude the word means that kind of Syrian bagpipe that Russell speaks of ; and I cannot help wishing that very ingenious and modest author had given us a figure of it, as he has of five other instruments of music, made use of in that country. As for our translators, they render *nebel* by the word *viol*, in Isa. v. 12., and in four other places,† which word, according to Johnson, signifies a stringed instrument of music, but most commonly by the word *psaltery*‡, which in the same dictionary signifies a kind of harp, beaten with sticks : very unlucky these translations, if *nebel* really signifies a bagpipe !

Nor is it any objection to my supposition, that the *nebel* was an instrument that anciently was

* Vol. I. p. 155.

† Amos vi. 5., ch. v. 23., Is. xiv. 2., and in the margin of Isa. xxii. 24.

‡ It is, however, a quite different word in Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15, which is rendered *psaltery* in our version.

united with great pomp, as appears from Isa. xiv. 11.; for though we now very commonly associate the ideas of meanness and a bagpipe together, it does not follow they do in other countries, or did so in other ages. A bagpipe was, some ages ago, I apprehend, a venerable kind of instrument in the northern part of this island.

Of this instrument Dr. Shaw takes no notice, and therefore supposes it is unknown in Barbary.

I have only to add, that I am very sensible, not only our translators, but the learned in general, take the *nebel* to have been a stringed instrument; and Pfeiffer, in his Collections,* has given us from Kircher, who is said to have taken it from an old book in the Vatican, a figure of the *nebel* sufficiently odd: I leave it to my reader to determine which sentiment is most probable.†

* Pfeifferi Opera, Tom. I. p. 296.

† Bythner, in his Lyra, observes, that the *nebel* was like a leather-bottle, but then explains himself as meaning something like the ancient Greek and Roman lyre, whose body was made of the shell of a tortoise, (See Phil. Trans. Abridg. Vol. IV. Part 1. p. 474.,) but was a stringed instrument; and then cites Josephus, as saying that the *kinnor* was played upon with a plectrum, but the *nebel*, which had twelve strings, with the fingers. The authority of Josephus may be justly thought to be a great objection to my supposition: but as his testimony is not perfectly decisive, with respect to the Hebrew instruments of music used before the captivity; so I may add, that upon consulting Josephus, I find he does not say the *ναβλα* had twelve strings, but twelve sounds, and was played upon with the fingers, “*Ἡ δὲ ναβλα δωδεκα φθογγους εχουσα, τοις δακτυλοις κρουεται.*” (Ant. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 12. § 3.) Is this description perfectly incompatible with a *bagpipe*?

OBSERVATION LXXXI.

Of Field and House Music at Aleppo.

FIVE or six sorts of public music are mentioned in the third of Daniel ; which are about the same number as are used by the bashaws at Aleppo.

“ The music of the country,” says Russell,† “ is of two sorts ; one for the field, the other for the chamber. The first makes part of the retinue of the bashaws, and other great military officers ;

† Vol. I. p. 150.

Mr. Drummond gives a similar account. The Eastern names which he gives us, speaking of the music of a Bashaw, making his public entry into Smyrna, differ ; but he mentions *five* different kinds, and apparently means the same instruments. “ Nothing more hideous can be conceived than the horrid sound of their instruments, especially as they were compounded. These consisted of a *zurnau*, or pipe, about 18 inches in length, swelled towards the extremity ; *nagara*, or little kettle-drums, no larger than a common pewter plate ; brass plates, which they call *zel* or cymbals, which a fellow gingled together ; a *burie* being an ugly imitation of a trumpet ; and *downie*, or large drums, of which the performers beat the heads with a little short club, having a great round knob at the end, at the same time they tickled the bottom with a long small stick.”—Travels, p. 119.

The two first of these, I imagine, but in an inverted order, may answer the two first terms קרנע *karna*, and משרוקיטא *mashrokeeta*, mentioned Dan. iii. 5., and translated *cornet* and *flute*. Whether there is any correspondence between the rest of the music of the modern bashaws, and of king Nebuchadnezzar, I cannot say.

and is used also in their garrisons. It consists of a sort of hautboy, shorter, but shriller, than our's; trumpets, cymbals, large drums, the upper head of which is beat upon with a heavy drum-stick, the lower with a small switch. A vizier-bashaw has nine of these large drums, while a bashaw of two tails has but eight, the distinction by which the music of one may be known from that of the other. Besides these, they have small drums, beat after the manner of our kettle-drums. This music at a distance has a tolerably good effect.

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING THEIR MANNER OF TRAVELLING.

OBSERVATION I.

Eastern Travellers carry their Provisions with them.

THE Eastern people are well known to carry, with them in their journies several accommodations, and provisions in particular of various kinds; for they have no inns, properly speaking.* They did so anciently.† But those that travel on foot with expedition, content themselves with a very slight viaticum.

The writer of the history of the piratical states of Barbary, speaking of the great expedition of the natives of the country about Ceuta in carrying messages, some of them running one hundred and fifty miles in less than twenty-four hours,‡ says, their “temperance is not less admirable:

* See Shaw's Preface, p. 14, note.

† Judges xix. 18—20.

‡ Dr. Russell asserts, he never heard of any thing like this, and is confident the account must be exaggerated: I am also of the same opinion.—EDIT.

178 Concerning their Manner of Travelling.

for some meal, a few figs, and raisins, which they carry in a goat's skin,* serve them a seven or eight days' journey; and their richest liquor is only honey and water."

* Commentators seem to be at a great loss how to explain the *basket* and the *store*, mentioned Deut. xxviii. 5—17. Why Moses, who in the other verses mentions things in general, should in this case be so minute as to mention baskets, seems strange; and they that interpret either the first or the second of these words of the repositories of their corn, &c. forget that their barns, or store-houses, are spoken of presently after this, in verse 8. Might I be permitted to give my opinion here, I should say, that the basket, *טַנָּא tana*, in this place, means their travelling baskets; and the other word, *מַשְׁאֶרֶת masharet*, (their store) signifies their leather bags; in both which they were wont to carry things in travelling. The first of these words occurs no where else in the Scriptures, but in the account that is given us of the convenience in which they were to carry their first-fruits to Jerusalem. The other no where; but in the description of the hurrying journey of Israel out of Egypt; where it means the utensil in which they carried their dough then, which, I have shewn elsewhere in these papers, means a piece of leather drawn together by rings, and forming a kind of bag.

Agreeably to this, Hasselquist informs us, that the Eastern people use baskets in travelling: for, speaking of that species of the palm-tree which produces dates, and its great usefulness to the people of those countries, he tells us, that of the leaves of this tree they make baskets, or rather a kind of short bags, which are used in Turkey on journies, and in their houses, p. 261, 262. Hampers and panniers are English terms, denoting travelling baskets, as *tana* seems to be an Hebrew word of the same general import, though their forms might very much differ, as, it is certain, that of the travelling baskets mentioned by Hasselquist now does.

In like manner, as they now carry meal, figs, and raisins, in a goat's-skin, in Barbary, for a viaticum, they might do the same anciently; and consequently might carry merchandize after

Not very different from this is the account the sacred writer gives, of the provisions carried by David and his men, when they went up with the Philistines to war against Saul, and which they had for their support in their hurrying pursuit after the Amalekites, as appears by what they gave the poor famished Egyptian, bread, (water) figs, and raisins, 1 Sam. xxx. 11, 12. The bread of the Israelites answers to the meal of the people of Barbary; the figs and the raisins are the very things the Moors carry now with them.

We do not find any mention of honey in this account of that expedition of David; but it is represented in other passages of Scripture as something very refreshing to them that were almost spent with fatigue, 1 Sam. xiv. 27, 29.: which is enough to make us think they *sometimes* carried it with them in their journies, or military expeditions.

the same manner, particularly their honey, oil, and balm, mentioned Ezek. xvii. 17. They were the proper vessels for such things. So Sir J. Chardin, who was so long in the East and observed their customs with so much care, supposed, in a manuscript note on Gen. xliii. 11., that the balm and the honey sent by Jacob into Egypt for a present, were carried in a goat, or kid-skin, in which all sorts of things, dry and liquid both, are wont to be carried in the East.

Understood after this manner, the passage promises Israel success in their commerce, as the next verse (the 6th) promises them personal safety in their going out, and in their return. In this view the passage appears with due distinctness, and a noble extent.

OBSERVATION II.

Carry also Skins filled with Water, for their Refreshment on their Journies.

IN those dry countries they find themselves obliged to carry with them great leather bottles of water, which they refill from time to time, as they have opportunity; but what is very extraordinary, in order to be able to do this, they, in many places, are obliged to carry lines and buckets with them.*

So Thevenot, in giving an account of what he provided for his journey from Egypt to Jerusalem, tells us, he did not forget "leather buckets to draw water with.†" Rauwolff goes further; for he gives us to understand, that the wells of inhabited countries there, as well as in deserts, have oftentimes no implements for drawing of water, but what those bring with them that come thither: for, speaking of the well or cistern at Bethlehem, he says,‡ it is a good rich cistern, deep and wide; for which reason, "the people that go to dip water, are provided with small leather buckets and a line, as is usual in these countries; and so the merchants that go in caravans through great deserts into far countries, provide themselves also with these, because in these countries you find more cisterns or wells, than springs that lie high."

* They are always, (says Dr. Russell,) provided by travellers who cross the desert.—EDIT.

† Part I. p. 178.

‡ P. 312.

In how easy a light does this place the Samaritan woman's talking of the depth of Jacob's well, and her remarking that she did not observe that our LORD had any thing to draw with, though he spoke of presenting her with water, John iv. 11.

Wells and cisterns differ from each other, in that the first are supplied with water by springs, the other by rain: both are to be found in considerable numbers in Judea, and are, according to Rauwolff, more numerous in these countries than springs that lie high; and than fountains and brooks; that is, of running water.

Some of these have been made for the use of the people that dwell in their neighbourhood, some for travellers, and especially those that travel for devotion. Thevenot found two,* made a little before his time for the use of travellers, by Turks of distinction, in the desert between Cairo and Gaza. And from a history d'Herbelot has given us,† it appears, that the Mohammedans have dug wells in the deserts, for the accommodation of those that go in pilgrimage to Mecca, their sacred city, where the distances between such places as Nature had made pleasant for them to stop, and take up water at, were too great: for he tells us, that Gitanabi, a famous Mohammedan rebel, filled up with sand all the wells that had been dug in the road to Mecca for the benefit of the pilgrims, &c.

To conveniencies perhaps of this kind made, or renewed, by the devout Israelites in the valley

* Part I. p. 179.

† P. 396,

182 *Concerning their Manner of Travelling.*

of Baca, to facilitate their going up to Jerusalem, the Psalmist refers in the lxxxivth Psalm, where he speaks of going from strength to strength till they appeared in Zion.*

This same scarcity of water makes them particularly careful to take up their lodgings, as much as possible, near some river, fountain, or well: for which reason there is, we may believe, less of accident than we commonly think of Jacob's lodging on the banks of Jabbok, Gen. xxxii. 22.,

* Sir J. Chardin observed this difference in the East between wells of living water, and reservoirs of rain water, that these last have frequently, especially in the Indies, a flight of steps down to the water; that, as the water diminishes, people may still take it up with their hands; whereas he hardly ever observed a well furnished with those steps through all the East.* He concludes from this circumstance, that the place from whence Rebecca took up water, Gen. xxiv. 11., was a reservoir of rain water. This is the account that he gives us in his sixth MS. volume; and it explains very clearly what is meant by Rebecca's *going down* to the well, Gen. xxiv. 16. But all reservoirs of rain water have not these steps. His mentioning the Indies in particular shews, that in the nearer parts of the East they frequently are without them, as well as those receptacles of water that are supplied by springs: so the well to which the woman of Samaria repaired, it seems, was nothing but a reservoir of rain water, since our Lord opposes its waters, I think, to living water, John iv. 10. If this remark be just, that which is now shewn for that well cannot be the true place, for it is supplied by springs. Mr. Maundrell expresses a jealousy of this kind, but he touches upon it with a very gentle hand, p. 62, 63.

* Of the fountains near Aleppo, says Dr. Russell, (MS. note) on the Scanderoon road, there are steps that go down into the reservoir of several of them.—EDIT.

and the men of David waiting for him by the brook Besor, 1 Sam. xxx. 21., who could not hold out with him in his march. So Dr. Pococke tells us that when he came to the fountain, which supplies the aqueduct of Tyre, he found there the great sheikh of those parts with a considerable number of attendants, who had stopped there, but soon went away, it being usual with them to halt wherever they find a spring.* And for halting, such places are always preferred, for very obvious reasons.

OBSERVATION III.

Carry also Provender for their Beasts.

BUT, besides provisions for themselves, they are obliged to carry food for the beasts on which they ride, or carry their goods. That food is of different kinds. They make little or no hay in these countries; and are therefore very careful of their straw, which they cut into small bits, by an instrument which at the same time threshes out the corn. This chopped straw, with barley, beans, and balls made of bean and barley-meal, or of the pounded kernels of dates,† are what they are wont to feed them with.

The officers of Solomon are accordingly said to have brought, every man in his month, barley and straw for the horses and dromedaries, 1 Kings iv. 28. Not straw to litter them with, there is

* Vol. II. p. 81.

† Maillet, Lett. ix. p. 8. and 13.

184 Concerning their Manner of Travelling.

reason to think, for it is not now used in those countries for that purpose ; but chopped straw for them to eat along with their barley. The litter they use for them is their own dung, dried in the sun, and bruised between their hands, which they heap up again in the morning, sprinkling it in the summer with fresh water to keep it from corrupting.*

In some other places we read of provender and straw, not barley and straw : because, it may be, other things were used for their food anciently, as well as now, besides barley and chopped straw : בלל *beleel*, one of the words translated provender, (Isa. xxx. 24.,) implies something of mixture, and the participle of the verb from which it is derived is used for the mingling of flour with oil ; so the verb in Judges xix. 21., may be as well translated, “ he mingled (food) for the asses,” ויבל לחמורים *ve-yabal lechamoreem*, as, he gave them provender, signifying that he mixed some chopped straw and barley together for the asses. And thus also barley and chopped straw, as it lies just after reaping un-separated in the field,† might naturally be expressed

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 168. Dr. Russell confirms this account, in a MS. note on this place.—EDIT.

† For, according to Maillet, they, immediately after reaping, chop the straw, and tread out the grain in the field itself.

In this state, says Dr. Russell, (MS. note) the animals who tread the corn eat it freely ; but the usual provender is barley winnowed and cleansed, which, when given to the cattle, is mixed with the chopped straw : the corn and straw being purchased separately at Aleppo, it is always judged necessary to mingle a little straw with the barley, to prevent, according

by the Hebrew word we translate provender, which signifies barley and straw that had been mingled together, see Job xxiv. 6. *They reap every one* (בלילו *belilo*,) *his corn in the field.* “*Heb. mingled corn, or dredge,*” says the margin. What ideas are usually affixed to secondary translations I do not know; but Job apparently alludes to the provender, or heap of chopped straw and corn lying mingled together in the field, after having passed under the threshing instrument, to which he compares the spoils that were taken from the passengers, so early as his time, by those that lived somewhat after the present manner of the wild Arabs, which spoils are to them what the harvest and vintage were to others. To this agrees, that other passage of Job where this word occurs, ch. vi. 5., *Will the ox low* (in complaint) *over his provender?* or fodder, as it is translated in our version; when he has not only straw enough, but mixed with barley.

The accurate Vitringa, in his commentary, has taken notice of that word’s implying something of mixture which is translated provender in Isa. xxx. 24.: but for want of more nicely attending to Eastern customs, though he has done it more than most commentators, he has been very unhappy in explaining the cause of it; for he supposes it signifies a mixture of straw, hay, and bran. I have no where observed in books of travels, that they give their labouring beasts bran in the East, and

to the common opinion, the horses from getting too fat.—
EDIT.

hay is not made there;* the mixture that is meant, if we are to explain it by the present Eastern usages, is chopped straw and barley. But the additional word there translated *clean*, and in the margin *leavened*, which, Vitranga observes, is the proper meaning of the word, may be supposed to make the passage difficult. The Septuagint seem to have thought the words signified nothing more than straw mingled with winnowed barley; and if the word translated provender, though originally intended to express mixture, might afterwards come to signify uncompounded food, as Vitranga supposes, the passage is easily decyphered; for though the word translated *clean* does commonly signify *leavened*, or *made sour*, yet not always; signifying sometimes mere mixing, as in Isa. lxiii. 1., where it is used for staining a garment with blood; and so it may signify here, as the Septuagint seem to have understood the passage, chopped straw, leavened or mixed with barley. But there is no necessity of supposing the word translated provender is used in a sense different from its common and ancient meaning, and signifying uncompounded meat for cattle; that single word may be understood to mean chopped straw mingled with barley, since we find that barley, when given to beasts of labour, is sometimes

* To the testimony of other writers, concerning their not making hay, we may add that of Sir J. Chardin's MS. which, speaking of a passage of the vulgar Latin translation, where the word *fœnum* (hay) is used, says, This is an error, arising from not having known Arabia, or the adjoining countries; for no hay is made any where there.

mingled, or, to express it poetically, leavened, with a few beans, to which therefore the Prophet might refer.

The wild Arabs, who are extremely nice in managing their horses, give them no food but very clean barley.* The Israelites were not so scrupulous, as appears from the passage I cited relating to the provision made for Solomon's horses; but they may nevertheless think the cleanness of the provender a very great recommendation of it, and seem to have done so, since Isaiah, in the above-mentioned passage, speaks of leavened provender winnowed with the shovel and with the fan. It is the more important to them, as a good deal of earth, sand, and gravel, are wont, notwithstanding all their precautions, to be taken up with the grain, in *their* way of threshing.†

But though the Israelites were not so scrupulous as the Arabs, giving their beasts of burden straw as well as barley, yet it must have been much more commodious for them in their journeying to have carried barley alone, or balls of bean or barley-meal, rather than a quantity of chopped straw, with a little other provender of a better kind; and accordingly we find no mention made by Dr. Shaw, of any chopped straw being carried with them to Mount Sinai, but only barley, with a few beans intermixed, or the flour of one or other of them, or both, made into balls with a little water.‡ The Levite's mentioning therefore

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 167.

† See Shaw, p. 139.

‡ Pref. p. xi.

his having straw,* along with other provender, rather conveys the idea of his being a person in mean circumstances, who was not able to feed his asses with pure barley, or those other sorts of provender that Eastern travellers are wont to carry with them.

OBSERVATION IV.

Their Manner of making up their Packages.

DIFFERENT things which they want in travelling are done up in different parcels, frequently in goat or kid-skins, and often put into one large coarse woollen sack, guarded with leather.

This is the account of Sir J. Chardin in his MS.; but he is much more large and explicit on this subject in a note on Gen. xliv. 1., which therefore I here insert. “ There are two sorts of sacks,† taken notice of in the history of Joseph, which ought not to be confounded; the one sort of sacks for the corn, the other for the baggage, and every thing in general which a person carries with him for his own use. It has been already said, there are no waggons almost through all Asia, as far as to the Indies: every thing is carried upon beasts of burden, in sacks of wool, covered in the middle with leather, down to the bottom, the better to make resistance to water, &c. Sacks of this sort

* Judges xix. 19.

† They that consult the original, will find there are two distinct words made use of there.

are called Tambellit. They inclose in them their things, done up in large parcels. It is of this kind of sacks we are to understand what is said here, and through this history, and not of the sacks in which they carried their corn. It would be necessary otherwise to believe that each of the Patriarchs carried but one sack of corn out of Egypt, which is not at all likely, or reasonable to imagine. The text upon which I make this remark confirms my opinion, and that these sacks of which the Scripture speaks here were different from the sacks of corn ; for Joseph ordered them to fill them with victuals as much as they could hold, which presupposes they were not full of corn. Gen. xlii. 27. furnishes another proof of this, *One of them opened his sack to give his ass provender in the inn ;* for if this sack had been a sack of wheat, it would follow, that they gave their beasts of burden wheat at that time for food, which is not at all probable. —The translators of the Bible, and expositors still more, have confounded themselves in many places, for want of knowing the country which served as a theatre to all the transactions of the Old Testament, with respect to the customs practised there, and those things which are proper and particular to it, which cannot be well learnt but on the place itself.”

If these sacks are woollen, then the sack-cloth with which the Eastern people were wont to clothe themselves at particular times, means coarse woollen cloth, such as they make sacks of, and neither hair-cloth, or rough harsh cloth of hemp, as we may have been ready to imagine, for it is the same

Hebrew word which signifies sacks, that is translated sack-cloth. And as the people of very remote antiquity commonly wore no linen, there was not that affectation in what they put on in times of humiliation, as we in the West may perhaps have apprehended—They only put on very coarse mean woollen garments, instead of those that were finer, but of the same general nature.

OBSERVATION V.

Of their Wells, and the Method of drawing Water from them.

IF in some places where there are wells, there are no conveniencies to draw any water with, to refresh the fainting traveller, there are other places where the wells are furnished with troughs, and other contrivances for the watering cattle that want to drink.

The MS. C. tells us there are wells in Persia and in Arabia, in the driest places, and above all in the Indies, with troughs and basins of stone by the side of them.

He supposes the well called Beer-lahai-roi, mentioned Gen. xvi. 14., was thus furnished. I do not remember any circumstance mentioned in that part of the patriarchal history that proves this; but it is sufficiently apparent there, the well where Rebecca went to draw water, near the city of Nahor, had some convenience of this kind;* as also had

* Gen. xxiv. 20.

the Arabian well to which the daughters of Jethro resorted.* Other wells, without doubt, had the like conveniences, though not distinctly mentioned.

OBSERVATION VI.

How they dispose of their Baggage on Journies, illustrating Ezek. xii. 3—7.

WHEN they travel to distant places, they are wont to send off their baggage to some place of rendezvous some time before they set out.

The account that an ingenious commentator, whose expositions are generally joined to Bishop Patrick's, gives of a paragraph of the prophet Ezekiel,† ought to be taken notice of here: it is, in a few words, this, “that the Prophet was to get the goods together, to pack them up openly, and at noon-day, that all might see, and take notice of it; that he was to get forth at even, as men do that would go off by stealth: that he was to dig through the wall, to shew that Zedekiah should make his escape by the same means; that what the Prophet was commanded to carry out in the twilight, must be something different from the goods he removed in the day-time, and therefore must mean provision for his present subsistence; and that he was to cover his face, so as not to see

* Exod. ii. 16.

† Ch. xii. 3—7.

the ground, as Zedekiah should do, that he might not be discovered."

Sir John Chardin, on the contrary, supposes, there was nothing unusual, nothing very particular, in the two first of the above-mentioned circumstances. His manuscript notes on this passage of Ezekiel are to the following purport: "This is as they do in the caravans: they carry out their baggage in the day-time, and the caravan loads in the evening; for in the morning it is too hot to set out on a journey for that day, and they cannot well see in the night. However, this depends on the length of their journies; for when they are too short to take up a whole night, they load in the night, in order to arrive at their journey's end early in the morning, it being a greater inconvenience to arrive at an unknown place in the night, than to set out on a journey then. As to his digging through the wall, he says Ezekiel is speaking, without doubt, of the walls of the caravanseray. These walls, in the East, being mostly of earth, (mud or clay,) they may easily be bored through."

I cannot, I own, entirely adopt either of these accounts: Ezekiel's collecting together his goods, does not look like a person's flying in a hurry, and by stealth; and consequently his going forth in the evening, in consequence of this preparation, cannot be construed as designed to signify a stealing away. These managements rather mark out the distance of the way they were going: going into captivity in a very far country. The going into captivity had not privacy attending it; and, ac-

cordingly, the sending their goods to a common rendezvous beforehand, and setting out in an evening, are known to be Eastern usages.

On the other hand, I should not imagine it was the wall of a caravanseray, or of any place like a caravanseray, but the wall of the place where Ezekiel was, either of his own dwelling, or of the town in which he then resided: a management designed to mark out the flight of Zedekiah; as the two first circumstances were intended to shadow out the carrying Israel openly, and avowedly, into captivity.

Ezekiel was to do two things—to imitate the going of the people into captivity, and the hurrying flight of the king: two very distinct things. The mournful, but composed collecting together all they had for a transmigration, and leading them perhaps on asses, being as remote as could be from the hurrying and secret management of one making a private breach in a wall, and going off precipitately, with a few of his most valuable effects on his shoulder, which were, I should think, what Ezekiel was to carry, when he squeezed through the aperture in the wall, not provisions.

Nor am I sure the Prophet's covering his face was designed for concealment: it might be to express Zedekiah's distress. David, it is certain, had his head covered when he fled from Absalom, at a time when he intended no concealment;* and when Zedekiah fled, it was in the night,† and consequently such a concealment not wanted; not to

* 2 Sam. xv. 30.

† 2 Kings xxv. 41. Jer. lii. 7.

say, it would have been embarrassing to him in his flight, not to be able to see the ground.

The prophet mentions the digging through the wall, after mentioning his preparation for removing as into captivity ; but it is necessary for us to suppose, these emblematical actions of the Prophet are ranged just as he performed them.

Sir John also applies this custom, of waiting some time at a general rendezvous before they set out, to Ezra's continuing three days at the river Ahava, Ezra viii. 15. : upon which he remarks, that they are wont to encamp after this manner four or five leagues from Bagdad, upon an arm of the Tigris, where the caravans always stay some days, to see whether they have got all things requisite for a long voyage, and whether anybody is left behind.*

OBSERVATION VII.

*They relieve the Tedium of the Way on their Jour-
nies by Music, Songs, Tales, &c.*

THEY set out, at least in their longer journies, with music ; for when the Prefetto of Egypt, whose journal the late Bishop of Clogher published, was preparing for his journey, he complains of his being incommoded by the sons of his Eastern friends, who took leave in this manner of their relations and acquaintance before their setting out.

* Dr. Russell has made the same remark in his MS. notes to this work. EDIT.

This illustrates the complaint of Laban, Gen. xxxi. 27., *Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly, and steal away from me? and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth, and with songs, with tabret, and with harp?*

But the Prefetto takes no notice of a circumstance that frequently attends these travelling Eastern songs, though it illustrates another passage of Scripture, and that is the extemporaneousness of them. A guard of Arab horsemen escorted the gentlemen that visited Palmyra in 1751; and when the business of the day was over, coffee and a pipe of tobacco was, the ingenious editor of those Ruins tells us, their highest luxury; and when they indulged in this sitting in a circle, one of the company entertained the rest with a song or story, the subject love or war, and the composition sometimes extemporary.* The extemporary devotional songs then mentioned by the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 26., were by no means contrary to the turn of mind of the Eastern people. The songs of the Israelitish women, when they came to meet king Saul after the slaughter of the Philistines by David, seem to have been of the same kind, for they answered one another, saying, *Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands.*

The Psalms, the Hymns, and Odes, mentioned by Saint Paul in his Epistle to the Colossians, (ch. iii. 16.,) were apparently supposed to be of the same extemporary kind, for they were to be the vehicles of appropriate instruction and admonition;

* P. 32. The extemporaneousness of the Eastern songs is very often mentioned in the Arabian Nights Entertainments.

frequency of singing, and extemporaneousness of composition, are both supposed there.

These valedictory songs, however, which the Prefetto takes notice of, are not to be supposed to be a constant prelude to their journies, but only those of the most solemn kind; and there is therefore an energy in those words of Laban, which ought to be remarked, Why didst thou not tell me, that I might have sent thee away, and taken my leave of my daughters, going such a journey, with all due solemnity, according to the custom of my country?

OBSERVATION VIII.

Their Manner of Travelling by Camels, Dromedaries, Boats, &c.

THE common pace of travelling in these countries is very slow; other motions then must have appeared very rapid.

The common pace of camels in travelling, the creature most frequently used, without doubt, in the country of Job, is little more than two miles an hour; so Plaistead supposes* he travelled through the desert at the rate of thirty miles a day, and that they were in motion thirteen hours each day; which motion is at the rate of two miles and one-third an hour. The reason of this very slow pace is, because the camels perpetually nibble every thing they find proper for food, as they pass along.

* P. 81.

Those that carried messages in haste moved very differently. It appears, by Esth. viii. 10., that the word *runners*, or *posts*, as we translate it, does not always signify those that carried dispatches on foot; and that they sometimes rode dromedaries, a sort of camel which is extremely swift. Lady Montague tells us, “that after the defeat at Peterwaradin, they far out-ran the swiftest horses, and brought the first news of the battle of Belgrade.”* Agreeably to this Dr. Shaw assures us, that the Sheikh that conducted him to Mount Sinai, and rode upon a camel of this kind, would depart from the caravan where he was, “reconnoitre another just in view, and return in less than a quarter of an hour.”† Even their messengers that run on foot with dispatches, move with amazing speed in Barbary: they will run one hundred and fifty miles in less than twenty-four hours; which is five times farther than a camel-caravan goes in a day.‡

With what energy then might Job say, ch. ix. 25., *My days are swifter than a post*,—instead of passing away with a slowness of motion like that of a caravan, my days of prosperity have disappeared with a swiftness like that of a messenger carrying dispatches, mounted on a dromedary.

The man of patience goes on, and complains *they are passed away as the swift ships*. I shall not examine what commentators have conjectured

* Lett. Vol. II. p. 75.

† P. 167.

‡ Dr. Russell declares, (in a MS. note) that he never heard of any thing like this, and suspects the account to be highly exaggerated.—EDIT.

concerning these ships of Ebeh, but would set down the remark of Sir J. Chardin on this place, which I read, I confess, with some surprise. His manuscript note is to this purpose: "Senaut, in his paraphrase, describes these as vessels laden with fruit, whose mariners, apprehensive of their lading being in danger of being spoiled, navigated them with all the sail they could make." Sir John, on the contrary, "believes this to be a great error of that learned eloquent writer; and that Job is speaking of boats carried by the stream, not by the wind, down the Tigris, which pass along with extreme rapidity. The image is formed from these boats, and from those of the Euphrates."

Whatever may be the signification of the ships of Ebeh, vessels that move swiftly are certainly meant. Many writers have imagined the words are to be understood of the boats of the Nile, and particularly of those extremely light vessels made of the papyrus, of which Isaiah is supposed to speak, ch. xviii. 2. It is a happy thought in Chardin, to refer the complaint of Job to the swift boats used in rivers near his own country, rather than to those of the Nile. God might be represented, in the close of the book, as adducing, in his expostulations with him, instances of his power from the ends of the earth, for he is Creator of universal nature; but it is more natural to refer the images used in the complaint of an Arab, made to his own countrymen, to things in or near that country, rather than to what passed in Egypt.

Be this, however, as it will, I cannot apprehend the supposition just, that those boats of antiquity,

formed of the papyrus, moved with superior rapidity to other vessels. Things of so slight a texture cannot be imagined to cut their way in the water with any force ; their moving against the stream must soon have demolished them, and their moving with the stream, but with a degree of celerity far greater than the water, must have produced the like effect.* Their celerity then could not have been very great, since the Nile, if Dr. Perry be to be credited,† never moves with a rapidity greater than that of three miles an hour, which is not one-third faster than that of a common caravan-camel. “ We have carefully examined,” says this author, “ the degree or quantity of the Nile’s current, at different seasons of the year ; and though in the month of August, (the time of its inundation) it runs near three miles an hour, yet in the month of November it did not run above two miles an hour ; and in the months of April or May, no more than half a league.”

* If the stream moved with a rapidity marked out by the letter A, and the papyraceous boat with a superadded degree of velocity expressed by B, much more considerable than A, the whole velocity of the boat would be equal to $A+B$, and the resistance from the water the same thing, I imagine, as if the vessel moved in a stagnant lake with a force equal to B ; which force, if considerable, must soon have destroyed so delicate a structure. And agreeably to this apprehension, their barques used now on the Nile are universally of sycamore, and those tender vessels no more made use of : at least I do not remember any modern traveller that has mentioned his having seen there any boats made of the papyrus.

Accordingly, when Dr. Perry went up the Nile, a run of about thirty leagues, as he reckoned, cost him three days, though for two of them they had a fair and strong gale of wind. This was no more than a caravan pace, reckoning it at a medium. And Captain Norden was sixteen days sailing an hundred leagues up the Nile, or three hundred miles; and if we suppose his barque was in motion but ten days out of the sixteen, and thirteen hours in the day, it was only caravan-pace. He was eleven days coming the same length of way down the stream; so that he cannot be imagined, if we make great allowances for stopping, though he returned with the stream, to have come down more than forty miles a day, which is no extraordinary rapidity. The cause of this might be the wind's being commonly in the North, consequently against his return; but so it generally is in Egypt. I cannot then apprehend the motion of the boats of the Nile was so extremely swift, as to be used as an allusion by an Arab, that is supposed to have resided in a country considerably remote.

But I cannot, on the other hand, see any reason to suppose with Sir John Chardin that Job referred to boats on the Euphrates, or on the Tigris, which is supposed to be still more rapid, carried by the stream alone, without the adventitious help of sails.* I cannot see why he may not

* The boats which are used on the Euphrates and Tigris for transporting passengers or merchandise are called *doneks* or *kiraffes*; and with all the help of sails, oars, current, &c. scarcely ever go more than *five* miles in the hour; often only *three*, as they are frequently obliged to *track*, i. e. to draw

be conceived to represent his days of prosperity as passing away with the swiftness of a courier on a dromedary, instead of moving on with the gentle pace of a common camel; as running away with the speed of a boat sailing down the Euphrates with a strong and fair gale of wind, instead of sliding gently along like some float, or other vehicle used in that river, and carried with no other force than that of the stream, in the stiller season of the year; yea, as passing away with a celerity resembling that of an eagle, when hastening to its prey.

Various are the inventions the people of these countries still make use of to float down their rivers: they are extremely simple; and some of them, without doubt, as ancient as the age of Job; and to a comparison made between them and vessels with sails, I should, without hesitation, suppose he refers; and those of the Euphrates, without going to the Nile, without doubt, answer his views.

OBSERVATION IX.

No Mangers used in the East; Hair Bags, and Stone-Troughs answering the Purpose.

As their horses eat chiefly barley, so they do not eat it out of a manger as with us, but out of bags of hair-cloth, which are hung about their

them by men on the banks, as we do our canal-boats. See Jackson's Journey overland from India, p. 59.—EDIT.

heads for that purpose : they have no mangers in the East.

D'Arvieux informs us, that the Arab horses are fed after this manner out of bags ;* and Thevenot tells us† they are made of black goats-hair, and that they use no manger for feeding their horses, neither in Persia nor Turkey.

What then are we to understand by the manger in which our LORD was laid in his infancy? Or are their customs changed as to this point?

Sir John Chardin, in his MS. note on Luke ii. 7., supposes that by a manger is meant one of those holes of stone, or good cement, which they have in the stables of their caravanserays, which are very large, and long enough to lay a child in. It is somewhat unlucky that he has not told us what those holes are made for ; however, this account supposes they really have no mangers there.‡

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 168.

† Part II. p. 113.

‡ Dr. Russell (in a MS. note on this place) supplies Sir J. Chardin's defect : " Mangers like those in England the Eastern people have not, for they have no hay ; but in their stables *they have stone troughs, in which they lay the fodder.* When they tie down their horses in the court-yard, or campagnia, they use sacks." In such a place, our blessed LORD must certainly have been laid ; but for this conjecture there is no necessity, as the original word, *φάτνη*, signifies not only a manger, but a stable also ; and in this sense alone I am persuaded it should be understood in the text : *And she brought forth her Son, her first-born, and rolled him in swaddling clothes, and laid him εν τη φάτνη*, in the stable, because there was no room for him in the inn, Luke ii. 7. Res ipsa loquitur : they were obliged to lodge in the stable, because the inn was full before they arrived.—EDIT.

OBSERVATION X.

Their Caravans composed of People of different Nations.

As caravans are oftentimes very numerous, so they are composed of people of different countries very frequently ; but they are denominated a caravan of the people that are most numerous in it, and to which the captain of it belongs.

So we call one a caravan of Armenians, says Sir J. Chardin, in his MS. because it is chiefly composed of Armenians, and because the Caravan-Bashaw is of that nation, though there are Turks, &c. in the caravan, as well as Armenians.

He applies this observation to solve a difficulty mentioned by St. Austin—the calling the caravan of merchants, to which Joseph was sold by his brethren, sometimes Ishmaelites, sometimes Midianites :* he supposes it was principally composed of Ishmaelites, but that there were Midianites among them, to whom Joseph was sold.

I mention this, merely as it is a circumstance of Eastern travelling that may give some amusement : for the true solution seems to me to be, that they were Ishmaelites who dwelt in the land of Midian who composed the caravan, and to whom Joseph was sold. It appears from Judges viii. 22, 24., that Ishmaelites and Midianites were names sometimes applied to the same people : and

* Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28, 36.

204 *Concerning their Manner of Travelling.*

as the descendants of Midian were not Ishmaelites, for Midian was a son of Abraham by Keturah, as Ishmael was by Hagar; the Ishmaelites, or some of the Ishmaelites, must have been Midianites by dwelling in the land of Midian. And though people of different nations, without doubt, travelled in ancient times in the same caravan, as they do now, yet the terms are so indiscriminately made use of in the history, (Midianites and Ishmaelites,) that we cannot so naturally explain Moses, by saying Joseph was sold to Midianitish merchants travelling in a caravan of Ishmaelites, as in the manner I have been pointing out.

OBSERVATION XI.

Different Kinds of Vehicles used in the Caravans for Persons of Distinction, the Sick, &c.

THE editor of the Ruins of Palmyra tells us* that the caravan they formed to go to that place consisted of about two hundred persons, and about the same number of beasts of carriage, which were an odd mixture of horses, camels, mules,† and asses; but there is no account of any

* P. 34.

† Besides mules which are not uncommon in England, but appear much more frequently in the East, particularly in Arabia, Sir J. Chardin says, in his MS., "In this country there is also another animal of a mixed nature, begotten by an ass upon a cow, which he had seen." Shaw mentions the same, as met with in Barbary, where it is called kum-

vehicle drawn on wheels in that expedition ; nor do we find an account of such things in other Eastern journeys.

There are, however, some vehicles among them used for the sick,* or for persons of high distinction. So Pitts observes, in his account of his return from Mecca, that at the head of each division some great gentleman or officer was carried in a thing like a horse-litter, borne by two camels, one before and another behind, which was covered all over with sear-cloth, and over that again with green broad-cloth, and set forth very handsomely. If he had a wife attending him, she was carried in another. This is apparently a mark of distinction.

There is another Eastern vehicle used in their journeys, which Thevenot calls a coune. He tells us,† the counes are hampers, like cradles, carried upon camels' backs, one on each side, having a back, head, and sides, like the great chairs sick people sit in. A man rides in each of these counes ; and over them they lay a covering, which keeps them both from the rain and sun, leaving as it were a window before and behind upon the camel's back. The riding in these is also, according to Maillet,‡ a mark of distinction : for,

rah, p. 166. Anah, (Gen. xxxvi. 21.,) seems to have been the first that thought of the propagation of such a creature as a mule ; to whom the kumrah is to be ascribed does not appear.

* Maillet, Lett. dern. p. 230.

† Part i. p. 177, 178.

‡ Lett. dern. p. 230.

speaking of the pilgrimage to Mecca, he says, ladies of any figure have litters ; others are carried sitting in chairs made like covered cages, hanging on both sides of a camel ; and as for ordinary women, they are mounted on camels without such conveniences, after the manner of the Arab women,* and cover themselves from sight, and the heat of the sun, as well as they can, with their veils.

These are the vehicles which are in present use in the Levant. Coaches, on the other hand, Dr. Russell assures us, are not in use at Aleppo : nor do we meet with any account of their commonly using them in any other part of the East : but one would imagine, that if ever such conveniencies as coaches had been in use, they would not have been laid aside in countries where ease and elegance are so much consulted.

As the caravans of the returning Israelites are described by the Prophet,† as composed, like Mr.

* Rachel seems to have been brought away by Jacob out of Mesopotamia in the same manner, Gen. xxxi. 34. ; consequently she rode upon a hiran, after the Arab mode, which is a piece of serge, la Roque tells us, p. 127, of his *Voyage into Palestine*, about six ells long, laid upon the saddle, which is of wood in these countries, in order to make the sitting more easy ; and which hiran, he informs us, is made use of as a mattrass, when they stop for a night in a place, and on which they lodge ; as their wallets serve for cushions, or a bolster. It was the hiran, I presume, part of the camel's furniture, under which she hid her father's Teraphim, and on which she sat, according to their customs, in her tent, and therefore unsuspected. Sir J. Chardin's MS. mentions this circumstance ; and it is, I think, a very natural illustration of the passage.

† Isa. lxvi. 20.

Dawkins's to Palmyra, of horses and mules, and swift beasts ; so are we to understand the other terms of the litters and counes, rather than of coaches, which the margin mentions ; or of covered waggons, which some Dutch commentators* suppose one of the words may signify, unluckily transferring the customs of their own country to the East ; or of chariots, in our common sense of the word.

For though our translators have given us the word chariot in many passages of Scripture, those wheel-vehicles which those writers speak of, and which our version renders chariots, seem to have been mere warlike machines ; nor do we ever read of ladies riding in them. On the other hand, a word derived from the same original is made use of for a seat any how moved, such as the mercy-seat, 1 Chron. xxxviii. 18., where our translators have used the word chariot, but which was no more of a chariot in the common sense of the word, than a litter is ; it is made use of also, for that sort of seat, mentioned Lev. xv. 9., which they have rendered saddle, but which seems to mean a litter, or a coune.

In these vehicles many of the Israelites were to be conducted, according to the Prophet, not on the account of sickness, but to mark out the eminence of those Jews, and to express the great respect their conductors should have for them.

* Vitringa.

OBSERVATION XII.

Method of wearing their Swords in Travelling.

THE Eastern swords, whose blades are very broad, are worn by the inhabitants of those countries under their thigh, when they travel on horseback.*

The MS. C. takes notice of these particulars, in two notes on Judges iii. In one of them he mentions the last of these circumstances after this manner: The Eastern people have their swords hanging down at length, and the Turks wear their swords on horseback under their thigh. Psalm xlv. 3., and Cant. iii. 8., shew they wore them after the same manner anciently.†

OBSERVATION XIII.

Travellers on Horseback attended by Persons on Foot.

WHERE travellers are not so numerous as in caravans, their appearance differs a good deal

* The sword, says Dr. Russell, MS. note, is fixed on the saddle by a girth.—EDIT.

† The passage alluded to does not clearly prove this: the long swords or scimetars hang down upon the back part of the thigh almost to the ground, but are not girt on the thigh. The passage in Judges refers to a concealed sword or weapon, not worn in the usual fashion.—EDIT.

from that of those that journey among us. To see a person mounted, and attended by a servant on foot, would seem odd to us: and it would be much more so to see that servant driving the beast before him, or goading it along: yet these are Eastern modes.

So Dr. Pococke, in his account of Egypt, tells us that the man, (the husband, I suppose, he means,) always leads the lady's ass there; and if she has a servant, he goes on one side; but the ass-driver follows the man, goads on the beast, and when he is to turn, directs his head with a pole.*

The Shunamite, when she went to the Prophet, did not desire so much attendance, only requested her husband to send her an ass, and its driver, to whom she said, *Drive and go forward; slack not thy riding for me, except I bid thee*, 2 Kings iv. 24. It appears from the Eastern manner of the women's riding on asses, that the word is rightly translated *drive*, rather than *lead*; and this account of Dr. Pococke will also explain why she did not desire two asses, one for herself, and the other for the servant that attended her.

Solomon might refer to the same, when he says, *I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth*. Eccl. x. 7. My reader, however, will meet with a more exact illustration of this passage in a succeeding chapter.

* Vol. I. p. 191.

OBSERVATION XIV.

Their Method of travelling on Foot.

THEY that travel on foot are obliged to fasten their garments at a greater height from their feet than they are wont to do at other times.

This is what some have understood to be meant by the girding their loins : not simply their having girdles about them, but the wearing their garments at a greater height than usual.

There are two ways of doing this, Sir J. Charadin remarks in his MS. after having informed us that the dress of the Eastern people is a long vest, reaching down the calf of the leg, more or less fitted to the body, and fastened upon the loins by a girdle, which goes three or four times round them. " This dress is fastened higher up two ways : the one, which is not much used, is to draw up the vest above the girdle, just as the monks do when they travel on foot ; the other, which is the common way, is to tuck up the foreparts of the vest into the girdle, and so fasten them. All persons in the East that journey on foot always gather up their vest, by which they walk more commodiously, having the leg and knee unburthened and unembarrassed by the vest, which they are not when that hangs over them." And after this manner he supposes the Israelites were prepared for their going out of Egypt, when they eat the first passover, *Exod. xii. 11.*

He takes notice, in the same passage, of the singularity of their having shoes on their feet at that repast. They in common, he observes, put off their shoes when they eat, for which he assigns two reasons: the one, that, as they do not use tables and chairs in the East, as in Europe, but cover their floors with carpets, they might not soil those beautiful pieces of furniture; the other, because it would be troublesome to keep their shoes upon their feet, they sitting cross-legged on the floor, and having no hinder quarters to their shoes, which are made like slippers.

He takes no notice in this note, of their having to eat this passover with a staff in their hand; but he elsewhere observes, that the Eastern people very universally make use of a staff when they journey on foot; and this passage plainly supposes it.

OBSERVATION XV.

Of their Roads, Inclosures, &c.

THERE are roads in these countries; but it is very easy to turn out of them, and go to a place by winding about over the lands, when that is thought safer.

Dr. Shaw takes notice of this circumstance in Barbary,* where he says, they found no hedges, or mounds, or inclosures, to retard or molest them.

* Pref. 14, 15.

To this Deborah doubtless refers, though the Dr. does not apply this circumstance to that passage, when she says, *In the days of Shamgar, the son of Anath, in the days of Jael, the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through by-ways, or crooked ways,* according to the margin, Judges v. 6.

The account Bishop Pococke gives* of the manner in which that Arab, under whose care he had put himself, conducted him to Jerusalem, illustrates this with great liveliness, which his Lordship tells us was by night, and not by the high-road, but through the fields: “and I observed,” says he, “that he avoided as much as he could going near any village or encampment; and sometimes stood still, as I thought, to hearken.” And just in that manner people were obliged to travel in Judea, in the days of Shamgar and Jael.

We are not however to imagine there are no inclosures at all; they have mounds of earth-walls, or living fences, about their gardens. So Rauwolff tells us, about Tripoly there are abundance of vineyards, and gardens, inclosed for the most part with hedges, between which gardens run several roads, and pleasant shady walks: these hedges, he says, chiefly consist of the rhamnus, paliurus, oxyacantha, phillyrea, lycium, balaustium, rubus, and dwarf palm-trees.† The gardens about Jerusalem he describes as surrounded by mud-walls, not above four feet high, easily climbed over, and washed down by rain in a very

* Vol. H.

† P. 21, 22.

little time.* So, agreeably to the first, we read of persons being sharper than a thorn-hedge, Mich. vii. 4.; and answerable to the second, of breaking a *hedge, or wall of earth* rather, it being a different word from the other, and being bitten by a serpent, Eccl. x. 8.

Rauwolff's enumeration of the shrubs that are used in the East for fencing, shews that not only are vegetables armed with spines employed there for that use, but others also. This is confirmed by Hasselquist, who tells us,† that he saw the plantain-tree, vine, the peach, and the mulberry-tree, all four made use of in Egypt to hedge about a garden, in which sugar-canes and different sorts of cucumbers were planted: now these are all unarmed plants. This consideration throws a great energy into the words of Solomon, Prov. xv. 19., *The way of a slothful man is a hedge of thorns*; it appears as difficult to him, not only as breaking through a hedge, but even through a thorn-fence; and into that threatening of God to Israel, *Behold I will hedge up thy way with thorns*, Hos. ii. 6.

As, however, their plantations of various esculent vegetables are not, unfrequently, now uninclosed in those countries; so Sir John Chardin seems to suppose, in his MS. it was so there anciently; and that on this account it was those lodges and booths were made, which Isaiah refers to in the eighth verse of his first chapter: *The daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard; as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers*. He describes these

lodges as places defended from the sun by sods, straw, and leaves, made for the watching the fruits of those places, such as cucumbers, melons, grapes, &c. when they begin to ripen; under which they also sell the produce of such gardens. After which he remarks, that the Armenian version translates those words of the 80th Psalm, *They have made Jerusalem desolate*, by this expression, they have made it like *the lodges of those that watch fruit*.*

As it was so easy to get over some of their fences, such watch-houses might be very requisite in such gardens as had hedges; but they must have been more necessary still in those that were perfectly open. Several travellers have taken notice of such improved spots of ground, which they have met with from time to time; and cucumbers have been expressly mentioned, as one thing they have cultivated in such places,† as the Prophet here particularizes that species of vegetables, *a lodge in a garden of cucumbers*.

As grapes also, according to Sir John Chardin, are found among other things in such cultivated

* *Locus cespitibus, stramentis, et frondibus, à radiis solis munitus, pro custodiendis fructibus. Comme concombres, melons, raisins, et autres ne sont en jardins, ni en lieux enfermés, &c. desquels commencent à meurir, on y batit des telles logettes, pour les garder, et aussi pour vendre les fruits et les legumes dessous. Figure très naïve. In Psalm lxxx. feceruntque Jerusalem desolatam, Armeniaca Biblia habent, tuguria custodientium fructus.*

Dr. Russell observes, that these lodges are found even where the garden is surrounded with a wall.—EDIT.

† Thevenot, Part II. p. 41. Phil. Trans. Abr. Vol. III. p. 489.

spots, and must be doubly delightful to those that travel in a desolate kind of country, there is reason to believe there is a reference to such plantations in Hos. ix. 10., *I found Israel like grapes in the wilderness*: not I found Israel, when they were in the wilderness, pleasant to me as grapes; but as grapes found in some cultivated place in a wilderness are pleasant to a traveller through such deserts, so has Israel been to me.

Sir John Chardin mentions these open plantations of esculent vegetables in another note, on Jer. iv. 17., which place is highly illustrated by it. The Prophet says, *As keepers of a field are they against her round about*, &c.; on which he remarks, that “as in the East, pulse, roots, &c. grow in open and uninclosed fields, when they begin to be fit to gather, they place guards, if near a great road more, if distant fewer, who place themselves round about these grounds, as is practised in Arabia.”

He also, in a note on Mic. vii. 1., takes notice of the fondness of the Persians, and Turks, for their fruits, as soon as they approach to ripeness; the Persians especially, who eat almonds, plums, melons, before they are ripe, the great dryness and the temperature of the air preventing flatulencies.

OBSERVATION XVI.

Of their Inclosures, Fences, Walls, &c.

ONE would have imagined, that in so warm a climate as Judea, and the neighbouring countries,

these living fences would have been thought sufficient for their vineyards; but it seems stone walls are frequently used.

Thus Egmont or Heyman, describing the country about Saphet, a celebrated city of Galilee, tells us, "the country round it is finely improved, the declivity being covered with vines supported by low walls."*

The like management obtained anciently: Prov. xxiv. 31., speaking of a stone wall about a vineyard: and walls being mentioned by Job, in connection, I think, with treading wine-presses, chap. xxiv. 11. Our translators indeed understood the passage otherwise, "Which make oil within their walls, and tread their wine-presses, and suffer thirst:" but it is extremely difficult to tell what greater hardship attended making oil within walls, than in the open air; nor does any contrast appear between their labour as to this and what followed, as there does between treading wine-presses, and suffering thirst, in the following part of the verse, and in that threatening of the Prophet Micah, *Thou shalt sow, but thou shalt not reap; thou shalt tread the olives, but thou shalt not anoint thee with oil; and sweet wine, but shalt not drink wine.*† Those words then of Job are mistranslated, and the version of Schultens to be adopted, *inter pedamenta eorum meridianur*, (they work

* Vol. II. p. 39, 40.—At Aleppo, Dr. R. says (MS. note) most of the vineyards are fenced with stone walls. In several places, a hedge would not grow well from lack of moisture.
EDIT.

† Ch. vi. 15.

at mid-day among their rows of vines); or rather, more conformably to our translation, and to the preceding account of Egmont and Heyman, "they work at mid-day among their walls; they tread wine-presses, and suffer thirst."

Buxtorf* supposes this sense of the word שורת *shuroth* is properly Chaldaic, because the Chaldee Paraphrast every where uses the term שור *shur* for the Hebrew word חומה *chomah* (a wall;) but if this should be admitted, it affords no argument against the book of Job being written by Moses, according to the common supposition, since he uses the like term in the same Chaldaic sense in the Pentateuch, Gen. xlix. 22.

Possibly the guarding against the depredations of jackalls, was one reason inducing them to build walls about their vineyards; since we are assured by Hasselquist,† "that these animals are very numerous in Palestine, especially during the vintage, often destroying whole vineyards, and fields of cucumbers." If it was, there was something extremely sarcastic in those words of Tobiah the Ammonite, *Even that which they build, if a fox [a jackall] go up, he shall even break down their stone walls*, Nehem. iv. 3.—if a jackall should set himself to force a way through, he should break down their stone wall, designed to defend their capital city, but not so strong as a common vineyard-wall: well might Nehemiah say, when he was told it, *Hear, O our God, for we are despised:*

* Epit. Rad. Heb.

† Page 127.

and turn their reproach upon their own head,
ver. 4.

The insupportable heat of mid-day in these countries has been taken notice of in a preceding chapter; to which might be added, in this place, the great augmentation of the heat to those that are near walls, from the reflected rays of the sun, which is so great, that Dr. Russell tells us, that had not Providence wisely ordered it, that the westerly winds are the most frequent in summer at Aleppo, the country would scarcely have been habitable, considering the intense heat of the sun's rays, and reflection from a bare rocky track of ground, and from the white stone walls of the houses.

And as Hasselquist observes,* that the wild beasts, particularly the jackalls, had their passages and habitations in the live fences near Joppa, it is quite natural to suppose this was one reason, at least, of raising stone-walls about their vineyards.

OBSERVATION XVII.

Of their Woods in the Holy Land.

That numbers of the Israelites had no wood growing on their own lands, for their burning, must be imagined from the openness of their country.

It is certain, the Eastern villages now have often-

times little or none on their premises : so Russell says,* that inconsiderable as the stream that runs at Aleppo, and the gardens about it, may appear, they, however, contain almost the only trees that are to be met with for twenty or thirty miles round, “ for the villages are destitute of trees,” and most of them only supplied with what rain-water they can save in cisterns. D’Arvieux† gives us to understand, that several of the present villages of the Holy Land are in the same situation ; for, observing that the Arabs burn cow-dung in their encampments,‡ he adds, that all the villagers, who live in places where there is a scarcity of wood, take great care to provide themselves with sufficient quantities of this kind of fuel. This is a circumstance I have elsewhere taken notice of.

The Holy Land appears, by the last observation, to have been as little wooded anciently as at present ; nevertheless, the Israelites seem to have burnt wood very commonly, and without buying it too, from what the Prophet says, Lam. v. 4., *We have drunken our water for money ; our wood is sold to us.* Had they been wont to buy their fuel, they would not have complained of it as such a hardship.

The true account of it seems to be this : The woods of the land of Israel being from very ancient times common, the people of the villages, which, like those about Aleppo, had no trees growing in them, supplied themselves with fuel out of these wooded places, of which there were many an-

* Vol. I. p. 3. &c. and 343.

† Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, p. 193.

‡ They use sheep dung also.—EDIT.

ciently, and several that still remain. This liberty of taking wood *in common*, the Jews suppose to have been a constitution of Joshua, of which they give us ten ; the first, giving liberty to an Israelite to feed his flock in the woods of any tribe : the second, that it should be free to take wood in the fields any where.* But though this was the ancient custom in Judea, it was not so in the country into which they were carried captives ; or if this text of Jeremiah respects those that continued in their own country for a while under Gedaliah, as the ninth verse insinuates, it signifies, that their conquerors possessed themselves of these woods, and would allow no fuel to be cut down without leave ; and that leave was not to be obtained without money. It is certain, that, presently after the return from the captivity, timber was not to be cut without leave, Neh. ii. 8.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

Dangerous Chasms near Aleppo.

HOWEVER, open as these countries are in common, there are some dangerous passes. So Maundrell, describing† the passage out of the jurisdiction of the Bashaw of Aleppo into that of him of Tripoli, tells us, the road was rocky and uneven, but attended with variety. “ Sometimes it led us under the cool shade of thick trees : sometimes through narrow valleys, watered with fresh mur-

* Vide Rel. Pal. p. 261.

† Page 5, 6.

muring torrents : and then for a good while together upon the brink of a precipice. And in all places it treated us with the prospect of plants and flowers of divers kinds ; as myrtles, oleanders, cyclamens, &c. Having spent about two hours in this manner, we descended into a low valley ; at the bottom of which is a fissure into the earth, of a great depth ; but withal so narrow, that it is not discernible to the eye till you arrive just upon it, though to the ear a notice of it is given at a great distance, by reason of the noise of a stream running down into it from the hills. We could not guess it to be less than thirty yards deep. But it is so narrow, that a small arch, not four yards over, lands you on its other side. They call it *the sheikh's wife* ;* a name given to it from a woman of that quality, who fell into it, and, I need not add, perished."

May not Solomon refer to some such dangerous place as this, when he says, *The mouth of a strange woman is a deep pit : he that is abhorred of the LORD shall fall therein*, Prov. xxvii. 14. ; and, *A whore is a deep ditch ; and a strange woman is a narrow pit*, Prov. xxiii. 27. The flowery pleasures of the place, where this fatal pit was, make the allusion still more striking. How agreeable to sense the path that led to this *chamber of death*.

* The countries here described are mountainous and well wooded ; but the *plains* are without wood in most places. On this passage Dr. Russell farther observes, (MS. note) the traveller was, if I am well informed, mistaken here : this fissure is in Arabic called شق العجوز *shuck al ájooz*, *The old woman's chasm*.—EDIT.

OBSERVATION XIX.

*Hospitality of the Arabs to Travellers, explaining
Luke xiv. 23, &c. and Jerem. xlix. 3.*

LA ROQUE, describing, from the papers of d'Arvieux, the hospitality maintained in the Arab villages, tells us, that as soon as the sheikh, who is the lord of it, is informed that strangers are coming, he goes to meet them; and, having saluted them, marches before them to the Menzil, or place set apart for the reception of strangers; if they are disposed to dine or lodge in the village. But la Roque gives us to understand, that frequently these travellers only just stop to take a bit, and then go on; and that in such case they are wont to choose to stay out of the village under some tree; upon which the sheikh goes or sends his people to the village to bring them a collation, which, as there is no time to dress meat for them, consists of eggs, butter, curds, honey, olives, and fruit, fresh or dried, according to the time of year; and after they have eaten, they take leave of the sheikh, who commonly eats with them, and at least bears them company, thank him, and pursue their journey.*

This, besides the use I made of it in another place, may serve to explain that passage in which our LORD represents a great man's making a supper; and, on being disappointed of guests, send-

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 125.

ing first for the poor of the place, and then for those in the highways and hedges, who were to be compelled to go and fill the house, Luke xiv. 23. Those in the highway were strangers passing on without any intention of stopping; and those under the hedges, where travellers frequently did sit down, such as had even declared an averseness from staying any time, and only sat down a moment to take a little refreshment. The sheltering themselves under trees and hedges is not important, as some eminent commentators have imagined; their being the poorest and most helpless of travellers, which does not at all agree with the pressing them to come in, as some of them have themselves remarked, for such must be supposed to have been ready enough to come; but that circumstance points out their being strangers, by no means inclined to receive such a favour, as it would so retard them as to break their measures.

The running to and fro by the hedges, בגדרות *baggederoth*, which a Prophet speaks of,* refers to something very different from this, and has been unhappily explained. Some have supposed it signifies hiding in the thickets; but the word גדרות *gederoth* does not signify *hedges*, strictly speaking, but rather the *walls of a garden*; and consequently thickets cannot be meant. Others suppose the meaning of the passage is, that their cities should be destroyed, and only the villages of Ammon should remain, among which they were to lament; but garden-walls, as well as hedges, were

* Jer. xlix. 3.

about their cities, and not about their villages, if we may judge of antiquity by modern managements: so Rauwolff describes the gardens that lie about Tripoli, and mentions those of Jerusalem, as Maundrell does those of Damascus; whereas the villages, according to Russell, cited under the last Observation but one, have no trees about them.* Others imagine, Jeremiah bids them hide in their gardens; but, I believe, no instance can be produced, where these were thought to be fit places of concealment in time of war. I would dismiss therefore all these conjectures, and observe, that their places of burial in the East are without their cities, as well as their gardens, and consequently their going to them must often be by their garden-walls; that the ancient warriors of distinction, who were slain in battle, were wont to be carried to the sepulchres of their fathers, as appears by the cases of Josiah, Ahab, and Asahel;† and that they often go to weep over the graves of those they would honour, and especially at first:‡ Observations which, put together, sufficiently account for the passage.

* Except where there is running water, and then there is generally some plantation.—EDIT.

† 2 Kings xxxiii. 29, 30. 1 Kings xxii. 37. 2 Sam. ii. 32.

‡ See chap. vi.

OBSERVATION XX.

*Provisions used in Journeying, with a curious
Comment on a Petition of the Lord's Prayer.*

THE hospitality of the East towards travellers has been greatly celebrated ; and it has been represented as their favourite virtue : but it appears sometimes, however, a mark of subjection, and not voluntary, and in such cases therefore not much a ground of praise.

Dr. Shaw takes notice of this circumstance, in the preface to his Travels in Barbary ; but has not applied it to the elucidation of any passage of the Scriptures, and therefore it may be introduced among these papers.

“ In this country, (says the Doctor, speaking of Barbary,) the Arabs and other inhabitants are obliged, either by long custom, by the particular tenure of their lands, or from fear and compulsion, to give the spahees, and their company, the *moqunah*, as they call it ; which is such a sufficient quantity of provisions for ourselves, together with straw and barley for our mules and horses. Besides a bowl of milk, and a basket of figs, raisins, or dates, which, upon our arrival, were presented to us, to stay our appetites, the master of the tent, where we lodged, fetched us from his flock (according to the number of our company) a kid or a goat, a lamb or a sheep ; half of which was immediately seethed by

his wife, and served up with cuscasoos; the rest was made *kab-ab*, i. e. cut into pieces (*μισυλλον* is the term, Hom. Il. A., ver. 465.) and roasted; which we reserved for our breakfast or dinner the next day.”*

In the next page of this preface, the Doctor says, “When we were entertained in a courteous manner, (for the Arabs will sometimes supply us with nothing till it is extorted by force) the author used to give the master of the tent a knife, a couple of flints, or a small quantity of English gunpowder,” &c. And observes afterwards,† that to prevent such parties from living at free charges upon them, the Arabs take care to pitch in woods, valleys, or places the least conspicuous; and that in consequence they found it difficult oftentimes to find them.

The Arabs, who are strangers, permitted to feed their flocks and herds in that country, are not the only people of those countries that are obliged to accommodate the Turks, who have conquered those districts, when they travel, and also the company they bring with them; but it is unwillingly, and no virtue, but the effect of fear; and exacted as a mark of submission, due from the conquered to those that have conquered them.

This management appears to be very ancient, and to be referred to in the Septuagint translation of Prov. xv. 17., and not improbably in the original Hebrew itself; and for that reason I have taken notice of it here; though that passage is, I think,

* P. 12.

† P. 17.

understood commonly, if not always, by moderns, of entertainments made by one's own countrymen and apparent friends, but who are really enemies, to some of their guests, or at least disposed to quarrel.* But the Septuagint understand it, and it seems more truly, of the forced accommodating of travellers, which Arabs and conquered people were anciently obliged to submit to, as they still are.

The words of the Septuagint may be seen below,† and they amount to this, “better is a repast given to us on the road as strangers, consisting merely of herbs, with friendliness and goodwill; rather than the setting before us a delicacy, and particularly the flesh of a calf, with hatred.”

It was not unusual then, in the age and country of these ancient Greek translators, for travellers to eat at the expence of those that were not pleased with entertaining them; and who sometimes would not do it, at least in the manner the traveller liked, without brawlings, and a kind of force, which could not but produce hatred. So that, as it is now practised in Barbary by the Turks, it was formerly in like manner practised in Egypt, towards the Arabs that probably might then feed their flocks there, as they certainly do now, and towards the natural Egyptians, over whom the Ptolemies, with their Greek companions, might tyrannize, as the Turks do at this time over the people of Barbary.

* See Bishop Patrick upon the place.

† Κρείσσων ENΙΣΜΟΣ μετα λαχανων προς φιλιαν και χαριν, η παραθεσις μοσχων μετα εχθρας.

It is possible this turn might then first be given to this proverb of Solomon ; but it is most natural to suppose this was the original meaning of it, since the Hebrew word אֲרוּחָה *aruchah*, signifies provision for a journey, as Jer. xl. 5., where persons carried their food with them ; and may as well signify the food that was wont to be given them, by those to whom they applied in journeying, when they travelled in inhabited countries, where they thought they had reason to expect they should be supplied, at free cost, with necessities in their journeying. It is indeed made use of even to express a quantity of provisions sufficient for one day, like that given to travellers, though allowed from day to day to those that were not travelling, but stately treated after this manner ; for it is used to express the daily allowances granted by Evilmerodach, king of Babylon, to Jehoiachin, the Jewish royal captive, both by the Prophet Jeremiah, and the Prophet that wrote the history of the Jewish Kings.*

But can it be supposed that such forced hospitality, it may be asked, came under the notice of Solomon ; or at least was requisite to be mentioned by him in his instructions given to the Jewish people ? I would answer, many people resided at that time in his kingdom, who, we have reason to think, were on much the same footing with the conquered inhabitants of Barbary, of whom we read, 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18., where they are called *strangers*, and were employed in works of hard la-

* 2 Kings xxv. 30. ; Jer. lii. 34.

bour, from which the Israelites were free. Now such might be under the like Eastern obligation to entertain those they lived under, in their travelling up and down; as also might the people of the adjoining countries, who are said to have been under the dominion of king Solomon.* And as some might be courteous and submissive, others might be rugged, and refuse to kill a kid or a lamb for them, and endeavour to put off these undesired guests with meaner diet.

Nor would it have been a maxim unworthy of the care of Solomon, to instil into the minds of the Jewish people not to insist too harshly on these Eastern usages, with respect to the strangers that lived among them, or the conquered about them, from motives of tenderness for the honour of the Jewish religion, as well as those of true policy.—Content yourselves with the refreshment derived from a repast of herbs, if they are only offered you; rather than strive to force them to give you a more honourable entertainment: for better is a repast on herbs with a good will and friendliness, than a feast on a fatted calf, wrung from them by severity and violence.

It is, indeed, universally true, that a mean meal, where peace and friendship reign, is better than a magnificent entertainment attended with strife; but as Solomon seems to speak of a repast in a journey, the explanation I have been giving appears to me to be the most natural.

It only remains to enquire, what the herbs pro-

* 1 Kings iv. 24.

bably were, which it may be imagined might be set before a stranger of such a character, when on a journey ; as for the opposite, the flesh of a calf, we know, from several places of Scripture, it was looked upon to be a most delicious and honourable dish.*

Solomon does not appear to have any particular species of herbs in view ; and therefore it may be proper only just to give an account of what travellers, in the Levant, have actually seen made use of on such occasions.

When Dr. Chandler was in the East, bread, fruit of various kinds, honey, eggs, fowls, kids, were what he often procured ; while some of his eastern attendants were satisfied with some sour curds, salt cheese, and hard brown bread ; seldom mentioning any herbs as eaten by him or them in his excursions, and which therefore may signify that they were reckoned a still meaner diet. But in one place, in Greece, he gives us an account of some green samphire, which was gathered from a rock, and made part of his noon-tide repast.†

Baron de Tott, speaking of his going along with some natives of the country on a party of pleasure, from Constantinople to the Asiatic side of the Straights, where, in a beautiful meadow, coffee was taken in the Turkish manner, after covered chariots, drawn by small buffaloes, had well jolted the ladies, &c. tells us, they brought back

* Gen. xviii. 7. 1 Sam. xxviii. 24, &c,

† Travels in Greece, p. 198.

with them from this excursion some curds, and some water-cresses gathered from the side of a spring.*

Dandelion, according to Dr. Russell, is used at Aleppo in salading; and summer savory, which being dried and powdered, and mixed with salt, is often eaten as a relisher with bread, serves many of the natives by way of breakfast in the winter season.†

But M. Doubdan gives an account of a repast still more humble than what I have been mentioning. Making an excursion with some Christians, he went from Jerusalem to a village called St. Samuel, because the sepulchre of that Prophet is supposed to be there. Leaving this town to the left, and going on a little farther, they arrived at an excellent fountain, called by the same name, springing out of a huge rock, and shaded with small shrubs, where they stopped to dine in the fresh air on the grass. "I admired, while I was dining," says this writer, "the sobriety of the Armenian Bishops and the Maronite monk, who would eat nothing, notwithstanding all our entreaty, but salading, without salt, without oil, or vinegar, at the same time refusing to drink a single drop of wine, but contenting themselves with merely the addition of bread and water; excepting the Maronite who drank a little wine, and eat an egg; but would not refresh himself with meat as we did.‡

It is true, this extreme lowness of living in

* Travels, Part I. p. 97.

† Vol. I. p. 93, 115.

‡ Voy. de la Terre Sainte, p. 98.

these Armenian ecclesiastics was owing to superstition : but a secret hatred to their conquerors might produce a like effect, and dispose the strangers that dwelt in Judea, or in the neighbouring countries, to treat their Jewish superiors, when they journeyed among them, in much the same manner, when they thought they could give vent to their ill-nature with safety : feeding them with water-cresses, with dandelion, with powdered summer savory mixed with salt, or even with salading without salt, oil, or vinegar, instead of killing for them a calf, a kid, or a lamb. With such humble repasts, Solomon would have his servants and men of war occasionally content themselves, if they could not obtain better accommodations with peace ; rather than strive by bitter contention and violence to procure better cheer, though by that means they might possibly, gain some delicacy. How humane the royal instruction to his people, in that time of national prosperity ! It at once did honour to his government, and his religion, which forbad the vexing and oppressing strangers.*

If this is the true explanation of this passage, it was not understood with exactness by the authors, or at least the correctors, of the vulgar Latin translation ; for they understood† the words to refer to the being invited to a repast by their neighbours and countrymen, and consequently have lost what I apprehend may be the peculiar

* Exod. xxii. 23. xxiii. 9., Lev. xix. 33, 34, &c.

† *Melius est vocari ad olera cum charitate, quam ad vitulum saginatum cum odio*, are the words of that translation.

force of the precept : but Protestants believe neither the infallibility of Sixtus V. nor Clement VIII.

The account of Dr. Shaw, that they were wont to reserve some part of what was provided for them, by those that received them over-night, for their breakfast or dinner the next day, may perhaps afford the simplest, and at the same time the happiest, explanation of the term *ἐπιβίον*, made use of in the prayer our LORD taught his disciples.

The learned know what tiresome, and, after all, unsatisfactory accounts have been given of this word, rendered by our translators *daily*, *Give us day by day our daily bread*. The word has sometimes been translated by those great swelling, and perhaps unmeaning, words of vanity,* supersubstantial and superessential bread :† but as *βιοια* signifies, in the New Testament, what a man lives upon,‡ nothing can be more natural, than to understand the compound word *ἐπιβίος* of that *additional supply* that was wanted, to complete the provision necessary for a day's eating, over and above what they had then in their possession.

The apostles lived at that time very often on what, humanly speaking, were very precarious supplies, derived from the liberality of those that received them from time to time, perhaps from day to day, into their houses, somewhat like the situation of Dr. Shaw and his companions, when he travelled in Barbary : *Take*, said JESUS, *no-*

* 2 Peter ii. 18.

† Vide Wolfium in Luc. xi. 3.

‡ Luke xv. 12, 13.

thing for your journey, neither staves, nor scrip, neither bread, neither money; neither have two coats apiece. And whatsoever house ye enter into, there abide, and thence depart.....And they departed, and went through the towns, preaching the Gospel, and healing every where, Luke ix. 3. Much the same are the orders they received in the next chapter;* after which, in the 11th, follows St. Luke's account of that model of prayer our LORD taught his disciples, in which, as there are other clauses particularly suiting their then circumstance, there is this also, *Give us day by day our daily bread*, or that additional supply of bread wanted from time to time to make up, in conjunction with what they might at any time have in hand, a sufficiency of food for their returning wants: a very proper supplication for their devotions in that very unsettled state, and agreeable to the modern customs of the East, which allow them not to dismiss a traveller, who goes without money, without a viaticum, or a quantity of provisions sufficient for present support.

The form given by St. Matthew agrees with that of St. Luke in substance, but has a few small variations. Among the rest, instead of recommending to them to beg for the requisite addition to their food from day to day, he teaches them to pray for the additional bread they might want that very day, in which it seems, they had not enough with them for the whole of it, cautioning them, in that early stage of their attendance upon

* Luke x. 3—11

him, against an improper anxiousness for the morrow, ver. 25. ; and leading them, from the first, to depend on those unforeseen providential supplies on which they subsisted, after they, at the call of their Master, forsook their worldly occupations to be with him, as witnesses of what he said and did. This is agreeable to what we find is practised in Barbary, where they are wont to give strangers provisions, sufficient to support them the first part of the day on which they leave them, but no farther, referring it to others to supply the wants of the coming evening.

OBSERVATION XXI.

Provisions often extorted from the poor Inhabitants of the Country, by the Officers.

THE demanding provisions with roughness and severity by such as travel under the direction of government, or authorized by government to do it, is at this day so practised in the East, as greatly to illustrate some other passages of Scripture.

When the Baron de Tott was sent, in 1767, to the Cham of the Tartars, by the French ministry, as resident of France with that Tartar prince, he had a *mikmandar*, or conductor, given him by the pasha of Kotchim, upon his entering the Turkish territories, whose business it was to precede and prepare the way for him, as is usually done in those countries to ambassadors, and such as travel gratis at the expence of the Porte, or

Turkish court.* This conductor, whose name, it seems, was Ali Aga, made great use of his whip, when he came among the poor Greeks of Moldavia, to induce them to furnish out that assistance, and those provisions, he wanted for the Baron ;† for though it was represented as travelling at the expence of the Porte, it was really at the expence of the inhabitants of those towns or villages to which he came. The Baron appears to have been greatly hurt by that mode of procedure, with those poor peasants ; and would rather have procured what he wanted with his money, which he thought would be sufficiently efficacious, if the command of the mikmandar should not be sufficient without the whip.

The Baron's account of the success of his efforts is a very droll one, which he has enlivened by throwing it into the form of dialogues between himself and the Greeks, and Ali Aga and those peasants, in which he has imitated the broken language the Greeks made use of, pretending not to understand Turkish, in order to make it more mirthful.

It would be much too long for these papers, and quite unnecessary for my design, to transcribe these dialogues ; it is sufficient to say, that after the jealousy of the poor oppressed Greeks of their being to be pillaged, or more heavily loaded with demands by the Turks, had prevented their voluntarily supplying the Baron for his money, Ali Aga undertook the business ; and upon the Molda-

* Memoirs, Vol. I. Part II. p. 10, &c.

† P. 15, &c.

vian's pretending not to understand the Turkish language, he knocked him down with his fist, and kept kicking him while he was rising; which brought him to complain in good Turkish of his beating him so, when he knew very well they were poor people, who were often in want of necessities, and whose princes scarcely left them the air they breathed. "Pshaw! thou art joking, friend," was the reply of Ali Aga, "thou art in want of nothing, except of being well basted a little oftener; but all in good time. Proceed we to business. I must instantly have two sheep, a dozen of fowls, a dozen of pigeons, fifty pounds of bread, four oques* of butter, with salt, pepper, nutmeg, cinnamon, lemons, wines, salad, and good oil of olive, all in great plenty." With tears the Moldavian replied, "I have already told you that we are poor creatures, without so much as bread to eat. Where must we get cinnamon?" The whip, it seems, was taken from under his habit, and the Moldavian beaten till he could bear it no longer, but was forced to fly, finding Ali Aga inexorable, and that these provisions must be produced: and, in fact, we are told, the quarter of an hour was not expired, within which time Ali Aga required that these things should be produced, and affirmed to the Baron that they would be brought, before the primate, (or chief of the Moldavians of that town, who had been so severely handled,) assisted by three of his countrymen, brought all the provisions, without forgetting even the cinnamon.

* A Turkish weight of about forty-two ounces.

May not this account be supposed to illustrate that passage of Nehemiah, chap. v. 15. ; *The former governors that had been before me, were chargeable unto the people, and had taken of them bread and wine, besides forty shekels of silver : yea, even their servants bare rule over the people : but so did not I, because of the fear of God.*

It is evident something oppressive is meant. And that it related to the taking bread from them, or eatables in general, (together with wine) perhaps sheep, fowls, pigeons, butter, fruit, and other things, when probably they were travelling, or sojourning in some place at a distance from home. And that the like imperious and unrighteous demands had, from time to time, been made upon them by the servants of these governors, whom they might have occasion to send about the country.

I cannot account for the setting down the precise number of forty, when speaking of shekels, but by supposing, that the word besides here, *אחר* *acher*, should have been translated *afterwards*, which it more commonly, if not more certainly, signifies ; and means, that afterwards they were wont to commute this demand for provisions into money, often amounting to forty shekels.

It is certain it could not mean the whole annual allowance to the governor by the children of the captivity : that would have been much too small.* Nor could it mean what every householder was to pay annually towards the governor's support, for

* Something less than 5*l.* sterling.

fifty shekels was as much as each mighty man of wealth was assessed at by Menahem, when he wanted to raise a large sum of money for the king of Assyria;* and when Israel was not in so low a state as in the time of Nehemiah: it must then, surely, mean the value of that quantity of eatables and wine they might charge any town with, when single towns were charged with the support of the governor's table, for a single repast, or a single day, which it is natural to suppose could only be when they thought fit to travel from place to place. This, it seems, their servants took the liberty too to require, when they were sent on a journey. And if they that belonged to the officers of the king of Persia, enforced their requisitions in a manner similar to that made use of by the people belonging to the Turkish governors of provinces, when they travel on a public account among the Greeks of Moldavia, it is no wonder that Nehemiah observes with emotion, in this passage, *Yea, even their servants bare rule over the people: but so did not I, because of the fear of God.*

Whether the preceding governors of the children of the captivity were all Jews, or not, is a matter not easily determined; but it is apparent, from a passage of the book of Nehemiah, that they were not all of them zealous for the welfare of that people, and consequently might be ready to adopt the oppressive managements of other governors of the Persian provinces, and suffer their under officers to do it. The passage I refer to is,

ch. ii. 10., *When Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, heard of it, it grieved them exceedingly that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel.*

It may not be amiss to add, that Noldius has observed,* that Aben-Ezra, a very celebrated Jewish rabbi, supposed it was a different word that was made use of in his copy of the book of Nehemiah, and that the same reading appears in the Babylonian Gemara, which different word Aben-Ezra apprehended meant, that these governors took from the people forty shekels of silver for the expence of one repast.

Such commutations, or money given instead of provisions, may be met with, I think, in the accounts travellers have given of the managements of the East: certainly they have often taken place among the copyhold tenants of our manors.

The supplying the people belonging to government with their provisions on particular occasions, is also what is meant, I apprehend, by the prophet Amos, ch. v. 11., *Forasmuch therefore as your treading is upon the poor, and ye take from him burdens of wheat; ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them, &c.*

The Bishop of Waterford has translated the original word *מַסָּאֵת* *masath*, gift, not burden; but as wheat is not wont to be demanded for those

* Concord. in voc. *אָחָד* Achar. Achad *אָחָד* is the word Aben-Ezra read, (resh [ר] and daleth [ד] being often changed one for the other, as being letters very much resembling each other;) but I should prefer the common reading. 1

that travel on account of government, but bread, ("fifty pounds of bread," said Ali Aga to the poor Moldavian, when he brought him by the force of blows to supply his demands;) so neither do I remember ever to have observed, in that variety of things that are made presents of in the East, that quantities of wheat were offered to great men: I should rather be disposed to believe that the translation of the Septuagint is more exact than our's, where the words of the Prophet are rendered *δωρα εκλεκτα*, (*choice gifts*, such as the cinnamon of Ali Aga,) as the words of Amos may be understood to mean a gift of something costly and of a select kind, such as cinnamon, for instance, not to be procured without plunging them into difficulties, and consequently be very oppressive; whereas a moderate quantity of wheat must have been as easy to them to part with as many other things, whether presented in order to obtain some favour, or demanded as a due by those that were travelling on behalf of government.

So Sir John Chardin, speaking of the universal custom through the East of making presents to the great, says, that "every thing is received, even by the greatest lords of the country, fruit, pullets, a lamb. Every one gives what is most at hand, and has a relation to his profession: and those who have no particular profession give money. It is an honour to receive presents of this sort. They receive them in public: and even choose to do it when they have the most company. This custom universally obtains through the East;

and it is perhaps one of the most ancient in the world."

If presents were made according to people's professions, a quantity of wheat from one in the farming way of life was not improper; nor was a stone of flour, or even a bushel of wheat, a more oppressive gift to expect to demand than a fat lamb. In one word, if the requisition of wheat was really the thing that was complained of as oppressive, it must be the greatness of the quantity, not its being wheat.

OBSERVATION XXII.

The Times of journeying, pitching their Tents, &c.

WHEN the father-in-law of the Levite, whose melancholy history is given us in the sixth of Judges, was persuading him to stay another night, he told him it was *pitching time of the day*,* according to our marginal translation, that is, the time when travellers were wont to pitch their tents, for their lodging under them all night, and therefore highly improper then to begin a journey. This is very justly rendered in the body of our version, as to the sense, though not as to the turn, of the original words—*The day groweth to an end*: for, in the latter part of the afternoon, Eastern travellers begin to look out for a proper place in which to pass the night.

* Verse 9.

So it is said, in the Preface to Dr. Shaw's Travels, " Our constant practice was, to arise at break of day, set forward with the sun, and travel till the middle of the afternoon ; at which time we began to look out for the encampments of the Arabs ; who, to prevent such parties as our's from living at free charges upon them, take care to pitch in woods, valleys, or places the least conspicuous."*

It might, very probably, be hardly so late as the father-in-law would have had the Levite suppose ; but certainly too late to set out on a journey of some length, when other people were near looking out for a place where they might commodiously terminate the travelling of that day ; and where safe and agreeable lodging-places were not always to be found.

The term pitching, which refers to tents, is made use of, though it is evident the Levite had no tent with him : because many then actually travelled with tents ; and others that had none, required at least as much time to find out an agreeable resting-place. Pitching-time then was some time before sun-set, when every body thought of preparing for their rest.†

When Dr. Shaw, however, travelled after this manner—the setting out with the sun, and continuing his journey till the middle of the afternoon, it is probable it was in the more temperate part of the year ; at other times they frequently find themselves obliged to travel in the night, and pitch their tents in the forenoon. The event then which the

* P. 17.

† Judges xix. 14—16.

sacred writer has recorded, relating to the Levite, seems to have fallen out in such a time of the year, and not during the summer heats; for, in that case, the observing that the *day drew towards* a close, was no just reason to induce him to stay till the morning. Accordingly it seems to have been in the spring: for Israel assembled to battle against Benjamin, presently after the harvest was got in; and after the few of Benjamin that survived had continued four months in the rock Rimmon, the leaves were yet upon the vines.*

I would only add farther, that it is not to be supposed, that the Levite here ever attempted to set out fasting: the comforting his heart, which his father-in-law referred to, was the taking a more strengthening repast than the slight breakfast he had eaten early in the morning. What that was, we are not told; but the author of the History of the Revolt of Ali Bey has told us what is the common breakfast the Arab villagers of the Holy Land are now wont to give to travellers; for, speaking of the necessity of spending one night on the road, between Joppa and Azotus or Ashdod, he says, "The resting-place is at a village which lies on the left hand, about thirty yards out of the road; from whence, after breakfast, which usually is on milk, or bread and cheese, and coffee, and a pipe of tobacco, if he be fond of smoking, he proceeds on his journey."* The coffee and tobacco belong to modern times; but the other articles very pro-

* As appears pretty plain from Judges xxi. 20, 21.

† Page 198.

bably were presented by the man of Bethlehem-Judah to his son-in-law the Levite.

OBSERVATION XXIII.

Time of shutting their Gates in the East.

Before this Levite, and those with him, could reach Gibeon, the sun went down upon him; yet he found no difficulty as to entering into that city; and he had been seen some time in its street before an old man came out of the field, from his work: probably then they did not shut their gates so soon as the going down of the sun, if all night long.

A very ingenious gentleman supposes this last was the fact, as in those hot countries we find they frequently travel in the night, and sometimes arrive, at midnight, at the place of their destination.* To which he added, that he did not remember to have met with any account of travellers finding the gates of a town shut, except in one single case, which is that of Thevenot, who could not get admitted into Suez in the night, and complains of the disagreeableness of being forced to wait some hours in the cold air, without the walls.

I would here therefore observe, in consequence of this remark, that as the Scriptures suppose the gates of their walled towns were shut, especially in dangerous times, as we learn from Neh. vii. 3., *I said unto them, let not the gates of Jerusalem be opened until the sun be hot; and while they stand*

* See Luke xi. 5., and also Mark xiii. 35.

by, let them shut the doors, and bar them; so we find that what happened to Thevenot, at Suez, is not the only proof that they still continue to shut the gates of their towns through the night, at least in times of danger.

Thus Doubdan, returning from the river Jordan to Jerusalem, in the year of our LORD 1652, tells us, “ that when he and his companions arrived in the valley of Jehoshaphat, they were much surprised to find that the gates of the city were shut, which obliged them to lodge on the ground at the door of the sepulchre of the blessed Virgin, to wait for the return of day, along with more than a thousand other people, who were obliged to continue there the rest of the night, as well as they. At length, about four o’clock, seeing every body making for the city, they also set forward, with the design of entering by St. Stephen’s gate; but they found it shut, and above two thousand people, who were there in waiting, without knowing the cause of all this. At first they thought it might be too early, and that it was not customary to open so soon: but an hour after a report was spread that the inhabitants had shut their gates, because the peasants of the country about had formed a design of pillaging the city in the absence of the governor and of his guards, and that as soon as he should arrive the gates should be opened. A little after another report was spread” &c.* Here we find the gates were shut, and continued to be shut against them; but it was owing to

some alarm, which afterwards appeared to be a violent disturbance raised in Jerusalem out of spite to the Christians. The shutting of the gates of Jerusalem did not appear to them to be extraordinary; but the refusing to let them in, when the return of the pilgrims could not but be expected about that time. Nehemiah also was in a state of alarm, when he gave such strict orders concerning the gates of Jerusalem: as were also the people of Jericho, who shut their gates immediately after their messengers were sent out of the city.*

But the gates of Suez were shut all night in a time of peace: and so Rauwolff found the gate of Tripoli shut, when there was no particular alarm, about an hour after sun-set, when he arrived at it,† which was opened to him through the interest of the European merchants of that city.

The real state of things seems to be, that many of their caravanserais are without the walls of their cities; that many private families reside in un-walled towns, to whom their friends may repair at midnight, without difficulty: and that as to towns with gates and bars, which are shut up all night, they usually take care so to regulate their times of journeying, as to get there before their gates are shut, or not till they are opened, or on the point of being so.

* Josh. ii. 7.

† Ray's Travels, Part I. p. 19.

OBSERVATION XXIV.

Civility of the Women to Strangers.

As we read the book of Tobit,* it may possibly seem very strange to us, and by no means consonant to the customs of the East, that when his son Tobias and his angelic, but disguised companion, came to Ecbatane, to the house of Raguel, Sarah, Raguel's daughter, should be represented as meeting them: and, after saluting them, as bringing them into the house, who appeared to her to be perfect strangers. Tobit vii. 1.

But perhaps this may be removed, and the book might be written by one that lived in the East, and was acquainted with the customs there, if we consider, that though they appeared to be quite strangers, yet they were somehow understood to be Jews,† for Raguel immediately calls them brethren, ver. 3; and though the Turkish women are now kept, with great care, out of sight, the ancient Jewish females had more liberty, and even have to this day, in those countries.

When Dr. Chandler first landed in Asia, he was

* That is in the Service of the Church of England. The reading of this silly legend, as appointed in the Calendar, commences Sept. 27th, and ends Oct. 4th.—EDIT.

† Either by their language, or by their different dress. The Jews that inhabit Media, and its neighbouring provinces, are distinguished now by turbans, or bonnets of a different colour from those of other religious professions, and other marks, mentioned by Chardin, Tom. II. p. 307.

received by a Jew, who had connexions with the English nation, and carried to his house, where he was agreeably received and entertained; and, among other circumstances, he tells us, that the daughter of this Jew saluted him, by gently kissing his hand.

The daughter of Raguel might then be supposed to have treated these strange Jews in the same manner; though the term that is made use of is by no means so determinate, and only expresses that she saluted them with affectionate pleasure.*

Perhaps Jacob's kissing Rachel, at their first interview,† is to be understood after the same manner; but I much question whether the kisses of the harlot, mentioned Prov. vii. 13., are to be supposed to have been equally modest.

OBSERVATION XXV.

Of Caravanserais, and Public Inns, in the East.

THE caravanserais of the East, in which travellers lodge, differ from those in which the merchants reside for a considerable time, in that these last have doors to their several chambers or rooms, which the others have not,‡ in which case, it must be particularly base to take advantage of such an unguarded situation, and of those that sojourn in them, namely strangers, perhaps even fellow-travellers.

* ΕΧΑΙΡΕΤΙΣΕΝ.

† Gen. xxix. 11.

‡ Voy. de Chardin, Tom. I. p. 147, 148.

To circumstances of this nature then I should suppose it is, that the son of Sirach refers, when he says, *Be ashamed....of theft, in regard of the place where thou sojournest, and in regard of the truth of God and his covenant.**

All theft is iniquitous, and consequently shameful ; but it may be attended with circumstances of aggravation : a truth which all feel. It is mentioned as an alleviation of the crimes of a celebrated free-booter Robin Hood, in the reign of Richard I., that, though he robbed the rich, he was kind and generous to the poor : so those that rob at a fire are detested as the worst of villains, because of the distress of such a time, and the inability of the sufferer to guard entirely against such depredations.

It is of this comparative kind of shameful ness that this ancient Jewish writer is evidently speaking, and in particular, of theft in a place of sojourning ; which seems to be explained by the nature of the present Eastern caravanserais.

To guard against this, Niebuhr tells us, that in Arabia, where the houses for lodging travellers are called *simseras*, and sometimes *manzils*, in the evening the door, and there is only one, is shut ; and in some places notice is given in the morning, before it is opened, that travellers may examine whether they have lost any thing.†

In the *simseras* of Arabia nothing is to be had in common, but coffee, rice, bread, and butter.‡

* Ecclesiasticus xli. 17, 19.

† Voy. Tome I., p. 314.

‡ In the same page.

This coffee is explained by the preceding page to be nothing but a preparation from the husks that inclose the coffee-berries ; and the bread is said to be made of durra, which is a sort of coarse millet ; along with camel's milk or butter.* This kind of milk is said there to be ropy ; for if the finger is taken out of it, after having been dipped into it, it draws out a long thread. But in one of these manzils, when the master of it understood that they were Europeans, he would have killed a sheep for them, if they would have stayed, and actually caused wheaten bread to be made for them, and cow's milk to be brought, when he perceived they were not accustomed to camel's milk.†

The caravanserais of Persia have, it is said, better accommodations oftentimes, their keepers commonly selling to travellers what is wanted for the horses, and what is wanted for themselves, as bread, wine, (in those places where it is plentiful) butter, garden stuff, fruit, fowls, and fuel. As for butcher's meat, they must fetch it from some neighbouring village, or the encampments of those that feed the flocks and herds of the adjoining country.‡

Such well-furnished resting-places appear to have been known in Judea, in the time of our Lord, since he supposes the good Samaritan committed the poor wounded man to the care of the host, or keeper of the caravanserai, and promised at his return to pay him whatever things his state

* P. 250.

† In the same page.

‡ Voy. de Chardin, Tom. I. p. 148.

required, and that the keeper should furnish him with. See Luke x. 34, 35. This could not be a place like some of the Eastern caravanserais,* in which nothing is to be found but bare walls.

OBSERVATION XXVI.

The great Liberality of the Arabs to their Fellow-Travellers.

THERE is a great deal of difference in these countries between the several nations that inhabit them, with respect to the readiness of communicating of their provisions to their fellow-travellers : the Arabs are very communicative ; the Turks of a more sour and close disposition.

I have somewhere met with a place, in our books of travels, where the writer was struck with the liberality of a poor muleteer, or camel-driver, who, with all cheerfulness, made an offer of some of his bread and dates to those with whom he travelled, though the quantity that he had with him was very moderate ; while some rich Turks were very careful to take their repast in concealment and silence.

This is precisely, I imagine, what the author of Ecclesiasticus had in view, when, after having spoken of thievishness in travellers as a just ground of shame, he goes on to add, *and to lean with thine elbow upon meat, or, on the loaves of bread,*

* Or rather Turkish kanes, of many of which M. Maundrell gives this description, p. 2.

Ecclus. xli. 19. For he had been speaking immediately before of travellers; what follows then may be naturally supposed to be nearly related to them, as certainly the first clause of the next verse has a very intimate connexion with people in that situation: Be ashamed—*of silence before them that salute thee.*

The attitude in which the son of Sirach represents the man he is pointing out, is exactly descriptive of a traveller dismounted from his camel, his horse, or his ass, and sitting upon the ground, leaning with his elbow on his saddle; and so covering with his large sleeve the provisions he had in his lap, and eating his morsel alone, without the least notice of those about him.

The leaning with his elbow on the saddle is precisely the posture in which the Baron de Tott represents Ali Aga, his conductor, as sitting when dismounted, not eating indeed, but waiting for his supper*; but might as well be represented as the posture of one taking his repast, especially if of an unsociable turn.

We have an instance of this exchange of food in travelling, in the account Irwin has given of his passing through the deserts of Upper Egypt.† There, he tells us, “the captain of the robbers (he means the wild Arabs) made them a present of a bag of flour, which he understood they wanted; and when he would not accept a pecuniary return, they sent him half the rice they had, which proved a new and acceptable food to him.”

Such an intercourse appears amiable, while the

* Mem. Tom. II. p. 19.

† P. 322.

contrary conduct is what this Jewish writer thinks may well occasion shame. At least this is, I think, the most natural interpretation of this clause.

OBSERVATION XXVII.

Curious Criticism on John iv. 6.

THE learned have been greatly divided* in their opinions, concerning the true meaning of the particle *ετως* in John iv. 6., which is rendered *thus* in our version, *JESUS, therefore, being wearied with his journey, sat THUS on the well: and it was about the sixth hour,*—which every body knows with the Jews meant *noon*. But an attention to the usages of the East, and of antiquity, might, I think, ascertain its meaning with a good deal of exactness.

Our version of the word (*thus*) gives no determinate idea. We know, on the contrary, what is meant by the translation of a celebrated writer,† who renders the word by the English term *immediately*; but that translation, I think, by no means the happiest he has given us. It conveys the idea of extreme weariness: but nothing in the after part of the narration leads to such an interpretation; nor can I conceive, for what imaginable purpose the circumstance of his immediate throwing himself down near the well, before the woman came

* If any should doubt the truth of this fact, they may be abundantly satisfied by the collections of the learned Wolfius, of Hamburg, upon this verse.

† See Doddridge's Exp.

up, and which, consequently, it is to be supposed, she knew nothing of, is mentioned by the Evangelist. Not to say that the passage cited in proof of this interpretation, (Acts xx. 11.,) which, instead of *so he departed*, he thought signified the immediateness of his departure, by no means gives satisfaction. It is not so expressed in his own translation of that passage ;* nor does it appear so to signify.

The simple meaning, I apprehend, of the particle is, that JESUS, being wearied with his journey, sat down by the well, like a person so wearied, as to design to take some repose and refreshment there ; to which St. John adds, it was about the sixth hour. If this be just, the translation should have been something like this : “ JESUS, therefore being wearied with his journey, sat down accordingly, (or like such an one,) by the well. It was about the sixth hour.”

The particle certainly expresses *conformity* to an account to be given after : so John xxi. 1., *JESUS shewed himself again to his disciples at the sea of Tiberias ; and ON THIS WISE he shewed himself*, referring to the account about to be given. And sometimes it signifies *conformity* to an account that had been before given : so, John xi. 47, 48., *What do we ? for this man doth many miracles. If we let him THUS alone*, (after this manner doing

* Candour, however, here obliges me to observe, that great liveliness of thought and recollection, joined with great diligence, could not be imagined to be sufficient to preserve from such inaccuracies as these, more especially in a person honoured indeed, but oppressed, with a vast variety of cares.

many miracles,) *all men will believe on him.* So ch. viii. 59., *Then took they up stones to cast at him : but JESUS hid himself, and went out of the temple, going through the midst of them, and so passed by—passed by, by hiding himself after this manner.*

After this latter manner it is to be understood, I think, here—JESUS, being wearied with his journey, sat down like a weary person by the side of the well ; and in that attitude the woman found him, preparing to take some repose and repast. The disciples, it is said, ver. 8., were *gone away into the city to buy meat* : but it does not at all follow from thence that they all went ; nor is it so probable that they did, leaving him alone ; but that, on the contrary, some of them stayed with him, making such preparations as indicated a design in them to eat bread there.

I have elsewhere shewn, from the reports of those that have visited these countries, that it is usual for them to stop to take their repast in their journeying near water, and under the shade of trees, rocks, or something that may afford them shelter from the injuries of the air. Our LORD with his disciples seem to have had the same intention, and applied to this woman for water, of which, in those circumstances, she must have been sensible they stood in great need ; and had our LORD offered to purchase it, it does not appear that she would have been surprised, for water was frequently proposed to be purchased in those hot countries anciently ;* and it appears, from ver. 8.,

* Numbers xx. 19.

there was nothing extraordinary in the dealing of the Jews with the Samaritans, as to buying and selling: what astonished her was our LORD's asking for water as a favour.

It was indeed no more than had often been asked by, and granted to, strangers: what one, in particular, had done aforetime, who dwelt in the land of Canaan, and asked the favour of a Syrian damsel to give him and his attendants drink, Gen. xxiv. 14., and 18., where there was no expression of surprise at it on either side. Nothing more than what has been done to strangers by the women of those countries in latter times.* But there were no such friendly dealings in common, between the Jews and the Samaritans.

Their dealing with each other, as to buying and selling, unless where peculiar bigotry and ill-nature prevailed,† will shew that the Jews might, in a peaceful state of things, without being much incommoded, pass through Samaria in their way to or from the Temple, in which country, though

* So Haynes tells us, that arriving at Nazareth, the latter end of December, about five in the evening, p. 133, 134, upon entering "the town, we saw two women filling their pitchers with water, at the fountain I have already described, and about twelve others waiting for the same purpose; whom we desired to pour some into a trough which stood hard by, that our horses might drink. We had scarce made the request, before they instantly complied, and filled the trough; and the others waited with the greatest patience." Upon returning them thanks, "one of them with very great modesty replied, 'We consider kindness and hospitality to strangers, as an essential part of our duty.'" P. 144.

† Luke ix. 52, 53.

not a very broad one, they must have had continual occasion to take their repasts, and to lodge also, in their passing through it, especially if they did not travel with greater expedition, in that part of their journey, than Joseph and Mary are supposed to have done, in the first part of their return from Jerusalem to Galilee. Luke ii. 44.*

Wolffius has remarked, very justly, and I think some others,† that the Greek word *ἐπι* does not necessarily signify *on*—that our LORD sat *on* the building belonging to the well: either a circular low wall about it, like those used in country towns among us, as painters and carvers seem to have understood it; or on a more magnificent erection over so celebrated a well, as that of which the patriarch JACOB and his family had been wont to drink. It has been used for sitting not *on* but *near* a river; and so, according to modern Eastern usages, it is most natural to understand it here, of sitting in a commodious place *near* that well.

Whether the disciples had cords and a small leather bucket with them to draw with, which the Samaritaness did not remark: or whether the dis-

* *They went*, the Evangelist tells us, *a day's journey, before they sought the child Jesus, who they supposed was in the company with some of their relations or acquaintance*: Now M. Maundrell assures us, that, according to tradition, it was at *Beer* that they sought him; and that a church was built there, in memory of this circumstance, by the devout Empress Helena, p. 64.; *Beer*, according to Maundrell, was only $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours from Jerusalem, p. 66, or about ten miles: a day's journey then, in those circumstances, was only ten miles; but Samaria, though a narrow country, was much broader than that.

† Wolffius on the place.

ciples were to procure proper implements in the city, which they were afterwards to return, or, at least, leave at the well for the use of its owner, who would soon have occasion to go thither;* or whether they trusted to a favourable accident, as travelling people were very frequently coming to so celebrated a well, does not appear. None of the conjectures is highly improbable.

The time indeed when they wanted this assistance was not the usual hour of drawing water by the inhabitants, though a common time for travellers to stop and take their repast. But it is to be remembered, when we find an inhabitant coming for water, that it was winter-time,† and consequently we may believe water might then be drawn at any time—at noon, as well as in the morning or evening, though these earlier and later seasons seem to have been those that were mostly made use of even in winter. Thus when Haynes travelled from Cana to Nazareth, in the depth of winter, for it was about the end of December, he found many women assembled at a fountain, to draw water at five in the afternoon, p. 144, compared with p. 131 and 134.

The coming then of the woman of Samaria to draw water, just at noon, does not look as though

* Thus Dr. Chandler, somewhere in his travels in the Lesser Asia, speaks of goats' skin with the hair on made use of as a bucket, which was distended by a piece of wood, to which the rope was fixed, and which was left at a well by a benevolent peasant, (who had before drawn water for them from thence,) for their use while he was absent.

† See ver. 35., of this ivth of John.

our LORD was fatigued with the heat, as well as the length, of the way, as some have conjectured. The air in those countries, it is acknowledged, is frequently pretty warm in the middle of the day, in the depth of winter ; but had it been so then, the woman would hardly have gone to the well at noon for water ; she would, most probably, have stayed till the usual time—the evening, or fetched it in the morning.

That travellers frequently stop at noon, in order to take some refreshment, is evident from a remark made by Plaistead : in giving an account of his traversing the mighty desert between Busserah and Aleppo, he tells us, p. 81., “ that the caravan with which he travelled did not stop to dine, as many caravans do, but travelled thirteen hours together.” Many Eastern travellers stop to dine, though some do not. No wonder our LORD then, who seems to have been a-foot, and wearied with the length of his walk, stopped near so inviting a well.

A considerable time after I had finished this article, I had the pleasure to find the very learned and accurate Bishop Pearce had made a similar observation on the meaning of the word *εταος*, in his Commentary and Notes on the Acts of the Apostles.*

* On chap. xx. ver. 11.

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

Water carried sometimes in Skins, and sometimes in Earthen Jars.

THOUGH it must, one would think, be much more commodious to carry water in skins or leather bottles, where water must be carried, and accordingly, such we find are generally made use of in the East in travelling ; yet, whatever the cause may be, they sometimes content themselves with earthen jars.

Thus we find, in the beginning of Dr. Chandler's expeditions, in search of the antiquities of these countries, though he was equipped under the direction of a Jew of that country, of such eminence as to act as the British consul at the Dardanelles, and was attended at first by him ; yet the vessel in which their water was to be carried, was an earthen jar, which not only served them in the wherry in which they coasted some of the nearer parts of Asia Minor, but was carried upon the ass of a poor peasant, along with other luggage, when they made an excursion from the sea-side up into the country, to visit the great ruin at Troas.*

This may serve to remove our wonder that Gideon should be able to collect three hundred water-jars from among ten thousand men ;† for we

* P. 25.

† Judges vii. 3, 16, 19, 20.

have no reason to suppose, the method he was to make use of, to surprise the Midianites, was not suggested to him before he dismissed all the army to the three hundred. In an army of ten thousand Israelitish peasants, collected together on a sudden, there might be many goat-skin vessels for water; but many might have nothing better than earthen jars, since Dr. Chandler appears not to have been better equipped, at least at first; and three hundred water-jars, collected from the whole army, were sufficient to answer the views of Divine Providence.

OBSERVATION XXIX.

On the Supposition that the Israelites marched out of Egypt, in Files of Five in Front.

THE margin of our translation remarks, that the word חמש *chamusheem*, rendered *harnessed*, in Exodus xiii. 18., signifies *by fives*; but when it adds, *five in a rank*, it seems to limit the sense of the term very unnecessarily, as it may as well signify five men in a company, or their cattle tied one to another in strings of five each.

If there were 600,000 footmen, besides children, and a mixed multitude, together with cattle, the marching of five only abreast, supposing only one yard for each rank to move in, would make the whole length of this enormous file of people more than sixty-eight miles.* If we should suppose two

* For 600,000 divided by 5 gives 120,000 ranks of five each; and their being only 1760 yards in a mile, the dividing

such columns, and place the children, mixed multitude, and cattle, between them, the length then of this body of people would be above thirty-four miles. At the same time we cannot conceive any reason for such a narrow front, on the one hand, in such a wide desert; nor, on the other, why they are described as marching five abreast, if there were many such columns. It would seem, in such a case, to be a circumstance that required no particular notice.

Pitts tells us, that the Algerine armies, when they march, go only two abreast, and that at the same time each rank keeps at a considerable distance, so that a thousand men make a great shew, and a very long train.* They have their reasons, for so doing: they want to appear as numerous as possible.

For a like reason, the Indians of North America walked singly, and with great gravity, I apprehend *slowly* is meant, when they went in form, according to the honourable Mr. Colden,† on a warlike expedition.

Moses had no such reasons; on the contrary, it must have been of importance to him, to draw the van and the rear nearer together, and consequently to make the breadth of this vast body of people considerably large.

120,000 by 1760, will give the number of miles such a column of people would take up, which by such an operation will be found to be something more than sixty-eight miles, of which the circumstances of the history will not easily admit.

* Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammedans, p. 30.

† History of the five Indian Nations of Canada, p. 7.

Pitts tells us, that in the march of the Mohammedan pilgrims from Egypt, through this very desert, they travel with their camels tied four in a parcel, one after the other, like so many teams.* He says also, that usually three or four of the pilgrims diet together.†

If we will allow that like circumstances naturally produce like effects, it will appear highly probable, that the meaning of the word used in the passage of Exodus is, that they went up out of Egypt with their cattle, *in strings of five each*; or that Moses ordered that five men with their families should form each a little company, that should keep together, and assist each other, in this difficult march. In either of these senses we may understand the term, in all the other places in which it appears;‡ whereas it is not natural to suppose they all went out of Egypt properly armed for war; and it is idle to say, as some have done, that they were girded about the loins; that is always supposed to be done by the Eastern people when they journey. Not to say that the kindred word continually signifies *five*; and this word should in course signify that they were, somehow or other, *formed into fives*—companies of five men each, or companies that had each *five beasts*, which carried their provisions and other necessaries fastened to each other.

* P. 149. † P. 153.

‡ The other places are, Josh. i. 14., ch. iv. 12., Judges vii. 11. The Algerines have 20 soldiers to a tent; but we know, from other passages, Moses divided them into tens, Exod. xviii. 21, 25; for neighbourhood he might divide them into fives.

OBSERVATION XXX.

Manner observed by the Eastern Caravans in their Journeys.

THOUGH numerous caravans, or companies of travellers, are common to the Eastern roads ; there is something particular, in the annual travelling of those great bodies of people that go in pilgrimage to Mecca, through the deserts ; upon which, as it may serve, in the most striking, and at the same time the most easy manner, to illustrate the travelling of Israel through some of those very deserts, I shall here make some remarks.

“ The first day we set out from Mecca,” says Pitts, in his description of his return from thence ; “ it was without any order at all, all hurly-burly : but the next day every one laboured to get forward ; and in order to it, there was many times much quarrelling and fighting. But after every one had taken his place in the caravan, they orderly and peaceably kept the same place till they came to Grand Cairo. They travel four camels in a breast, which are all tied one after the other, like as in teams. The whole body is called a caravan, which is divided into several cottors, or companies, each of which has its name, and consists, it may be, of several thousand camels ; and they move, one cotter after another, like distinct troops. In the head of each cotter is some great gentleman, or officer, who is carried in a thing like a horse-litter, &c. In the head of every cotter there goes likewise a sumpter-

camel, which carries his treasure, &c. This camel has two bells, about the bigness of our market-bells, hanging one on each side, the sound of which may be heard a great way off. Some others of the camels have round bells about their necks, some about their legs, like those which our carriers put about their fore-horses' necks; which, together, with the servants, (who belong to the camels, and travel on foot,) singing all night, make a pleasant noise; and the journey passes away delightfully. They say this music makes the camels brisk and lively. Thus *they* travel, in good order, every day, till they come to Grand Cairo; and were it not for this order, you may guess what confusion would be among such a vast multitude.

“ They have lights by night (which is the chief time of travelling, because of the exceeding heat of the sun by day,) which are carried on the tops of high poles to direct the haggies or pilgrims in their march.”*

I think we may from hence form some idea, of the office and figure of those princes of the tribes whose obligations are mentioned in Numbers, chap. vii. They doubtless appeared very much like the princes of these Mohammedan cottors.

The appointing those princes, and the prescribing the order of the encampments, must have been necessary, since there is so much confusion in these pilgrimages at first setting out, where the numbers of people are much smaller than those of Israel,

* *Mashaals* are used in Syria, (says Dr. Russell, MS. note.) This is an odd sort of grate, fixed on a pole, in which is burnt a resinous wood that gives a fine blaze—EDIT.

as we may learn from what Maillet says* of the caravan that went from Egypt to Mecca in the year 1697, which, according to him, was more considerable than any that had gone from thence to that place for twenty years before, and which, nevertheless, they did not pretend much exceeded one hundred thousand souls, and as many camels; and this Maillet even supposes was too large a computation, and that half that number was a great deal nearer the truth. The Israelites who went out of Egypt were much more numerous,

OBSERVATION XXXI.

Caravans travel chiefly in the Night.

THE night was the chief time of travelling for this great multitude, through these deserts, when Pitts went to Mecca; and the Eastern journies are oftentimes performed, on account of the heat, in the night, as I have observed before.

Thevenot, however, travelled here in the day-time, passing through these deserts in January, and even found the mornings cold before the sun was up; and what is more extraordinary, it seems that Egmont and Heyman, who travelled to Mount Sinai in the month of July,* travelled here a good deal in the day-time, and found very refreshing breezes. Moses, in like manner, supposes the cloud,

* Sir J. Chardin has remarked, that this appears from Luke xi. 5, 7., where a friend on his journey is supposed to come at midnight; and he says, this frequently happens there.

† Let. dern. p. 228.

which regulated their marches, was sometimes taken up by day, and sometimes by night, Numb. ix. 21., doubtless, according to the season, or the temperature of the air, which a merciful God regarded in giving that signal; and thus we find that Egmont and Heyman's conductors were so careful of their camels, and the heat of the sun was so excessive in the last day of their journey to Sinai, that when they were only an hour and a half from the convent, they would not move a step farther, but waited till the declining of the sun made it more tolerable.* It appears however from hence, that had we an account of the time that Israel removed from stage to stage, as to its being by day or night, we could not from thence determine, with certainty, the time of the year in which those removals were made, since they that were so careful of their camels travelled by day in July, in these deserts.

OBSERVATION XXXII.

In journeying, Bells are sometimes appended both to Horses and Camels.

THERE is something very amusing in Pitts' account of the singing in the night of the servants that attended those camels; and this circumstance of those sacred journies may be explanatory of the singing of the Israelites, in their return to Jerusalem, which the Prophet speaks of, Isa. li. 11.,

as well as lead us to imagine it was what was common in their going thither three times a year.*

But the sounding of the bells, which he tells us were fastened to some of the camels, does not seem to have any thing to do with Zech. xiv. 20. They are, according to our translation, *bells of horses* that the Prophet mentions†; but it is not the word that is used for the bells on one of the vestments of Aaron: nor do I remember to have met with any account of *horses* decked after this manner in the East; nor, if they were, does it easily appear why these should be consecrated unto God: as then the word may be taken for some *covering* of the horses; and they were the creatures that were in those times, as well as now, particularly used in war; and as they are camels, not horses, that are adorned with bells in travelling;‡ these consi-

* Some have supposed those fifteen Psalms, which are each intituled, “A song of Degrees,” relate to the ascent of Israel out of the Babylonish captivity. May they not rather be thus marked, to denote they were wont to be sung in the journies of Israel up to Jerusalem from time to time? The Eastern people were wont to sing in their journies: these Psalms suit such travellers; and the singular of that word translated *degrees* signifies going up to Jerusalem, Ezra vii. 9.

† מצלות הסוס *metsilloth hassus*; but the ordinary word for *bell* is פעמן *paamon*.

‡ *Camels, mules, and horses*, are all occasionally decked with bells. A beautiful painting in a copy of the *Ajaeeb Almakhloocat* (i. e. the wonders of the creation) now lying before me, represents a caravan going through the valley of serpents in the island of Serindib (Ceylon;) in which the camels, horses, &c. have bells not only about their necks, but on their legs also. This has also been particularly noticed by Major Rooke, in his Travels to the Coast of Arabia Felix:

derations may serve a little to establish the explanation the learned Mr. Lowth has given us from the Chaldee, supposing the word our version translates *bells* signifies *warlike trappings of horses*. These were to be holiness to the LORD: that is, perhaps, not only laid up for a memorial before God, as he remarks: but never to be put to their former use more, which things that were laid up in the Temple sometimes were.*

However, Sir John Chardin, in his MS. notes on this verse, has given a different turn to these words, which, whether perfectly just or not, is very amusing to the imagination. After mentioning the Arabic translation, which signifies that that which should be upon the *bridle* of a horse should be *holiness to the LORD*, he informs us, that something like this is seen in several places of the East: in Persia, and in Turkey, the reins are of silk, of the thickness of a finger, on which are wrought the name of God, or other inscriptions.†

In page 83, he makes the following remarks on having been present at a field-day, which the Turkish cavalry had at Mocha. “The horses were *sumptuously caparisoned*, being adorned with gold and silver trappings, *bells hung round their necks*, and rich housings; the riders were in handsome Turkish dresses, with white turbans; and the whole formed to me a new and pleasing spectacle.” But, from the account in the Ajaeab Almakhloocat, it seems that these bells were used rather for the expulsion of the serpents than for ornaments to their cattle. However it sufficiently shews that *bells* on horses as well as on *camels* are in use in the East.—EDIT.

* See 1 Sam. xxi. 9.

† The Arabic words are علي لجم الفرس *ala lijam'il faras*, upon the horses' bridle; but it is common with the Moham-

The words of the Prophet naturally lead us to think of the mitre of the Jewish High Priest, on a plate of gold of which was engraven *Holiness to the LORD*; but whether Zechariah meant that marks of devotedness to the God of Israel should appear in their travelling to Jerusalem to worship there, as strong as if the inscription on the forehead of Aaron should be embroidered on the bridle of horses, and the highest reverence for him, and care to avoid all pollution, should appear in all the habitations in Jerusalem at that time; or whether Mr. Lowth's is the true interpretation, I will not take upon me to decide: I will only beg leave to observe, that Sir John's account removes all difficulty from uniting an inscription and bridle together, which is the marginal reading; and that it seems better to agree with the subsequent thought, of every pot in Jerusalem and Judah, being holiness to the LORD, which pots never had any concern with war, or were to be supposed to be in any danger of being applied to such a purpose afterwards.

medans to put the name of God upon almost every thing: I have seen it upon their bows, and other military weapons. It is well known to the learned, that to every literary work, whether on law, physic, divinity, arts, sciences, or even books of amusement, such as tales, romances, &c. the following sentence is constantly prefixed:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Bismi'llahi arrahmani arraheemi.

In the name of the most merciful and most compassionate God.

So that no people in the world conform more literally than the Mohammedans, to those words of an inspired writer, *Whatsoever you do, do it in the name of the LORD.*—EDIT.

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

Of the Lights used for Travelling by Night.

PITTS goes on, in his account of his return from Mecca, with describing those lights by which they travel in the night in the desert, and which are carried on the tops of poles to direct their march. “ They are somewhat like iron stoves, into which they put short dry wood, which some of the camels are loaded with ; it is carried in great sacks, which have a hole near the bottom, where the servants take it out, as they see the fires need a recruit. Every cottor has one of these poles belonging to it, some of which have ten, some twelve of these lights on their tops, or more or less ; and they are likewise of different figures, as well as numbers ; one perhaps oval-way, like a gate, another triangular, or like N, or M, &c. so that every one knows by them his respective cottor. They are carried in the front, and set up in the place where the caravan is to pitch, before that comes up at some distance from one another. They are also carried by day, not lighted : but yet, by the figure and number of them, the haggas (pilgrims) are directed to what cottor they belong, as soldiers are, by their colours, where to rendezvous ; and without such directions it would be impossible to avoid confusion in such a vast number of people.

“ Every day, viz. in the morning, they pitch their tents, and rest several hours. When the

camels are unloaded, the owners drive them to water, and give them their provender, &c. so that we had nothing to do with them, besides helping to load them. "As soon as our tents were pitched, my business was to make a little fire, and get a pot of coffee. When we had eat some small matter, and drank the coffee, we lay down to sleep. Between eleven and twelve we boiled something for dinner, and having dined, lay down again till about four in the afternoon, when the trumpet was sounded, which gave notice to every one to take down their tents, pack up their things, and load their camels, in order to proceed in their journey. It takes up about two hours' time ere they are all in their places again."

More than three thousand years have made no alteration in the signal used to give notice for decamping. The Mecca caravan now moves upon blowing a trumpet; Moses made use of the same signal, Numb. x.*

* Those Moses made use of were of silver; but it seems some instruments of this kind were made of horns, Josh. vi. 8. It is commonly supposed rams-horns were made use of, which Chardin in his MS. tells us are strangely long in the East, and that such are used by the dervishes. Masius, however, doubts whether the horns of these animals were used by Joshua at Jericho, because those horns are solid. Sir John therefore proposed to see if Masius was not mistaken, and whether the horns used by the dervishes were those of buffalos or rams, which last he believed them to be. He does not, however, give us any account in his notes of the result of that enquiry, which is a little unhappy. But I am assured the horns of the English sheep are hollow, or rather, having what they call a slug, are easily made so.

But whatever horns the dervishes carry with them, one use

But what I would chiefly observe in this narration, is the account he gives of the things that were made use of, in these pilgrimages, for the like purposes that flags are used in our armies. They are little iron machines, in which fires may be made, in order to guide them in their night marches ; and they are so contrived, as sufficiently to distinguish their respective cottors or tribes.

Things of this sort, I find, are used in other cases too : for Dr. Pococke tells us, that the caravan with which he visited the river Jordan, set out from thence in the evening, soon after it was dark, for Jerusalem ; being lighted by chips of deal, full

they put them to ought to be remarked; and that is, their blowing their horns not unfrequently when any thing is given them, in honour of the donor. This is mentioned in the MS. note on Matt. vi. 3. Another sense is indeed put on the words, and is mentioned in that note ; but it is not impossible, that some of the poor Jews that begged alms might be furnished like the Persian dervishes, who are a sort of religious beggars, and that these hypocrites might be disposed to confine their alms-giving very much to such as they knew would pay them this honour. Thus much is certain, that if the modern Persian mode was in use in the time of our LORD, these Pharisees would have been very cold in giving alms to those that neglected it.

Bells also are used to give warning to caravans to prepare for marching : hence that beautiful couplet in Hafiz, applied to the necessity of relinquishing sensual gratifications, and preparing for death :

مرا در منزل جانان چه جاي عيش چون هردم
جرس نريان ميدارد كه بر بنديد ماحملا

“ For me, what room is there for pleasure in the bowers of beauty,

“ When every moment the *bell* makes proclamation, thus,
Bind on your burdens !”

of turpentine, burning in a round iron frame, fixed to the end of a pole, and arrived at Jerusalem a little before day-break.* But he tells us also, that a little before this the pilgrims were called before the governor of this caravan, by means of a white standard, that was displayed on an eminence near the camp, in order to enable him to ascertain his fees.

In the Mecca caravans they use nothing by day, but the same moveable beacons, in which they burn those fires which distinguish each cottor in the night ; for Pitts says nothing of flags, or any thing of that sort.

As travelling then in the night must be, generally speaking, most desirable to a great multitude in that desert, we may believe a compassionate God, for the most part, directed Israel to move in the night ; and, in consequence, must we not rather suppose the standards of the twelve tribes were moveable beacons, like those of the Mecca pilgrims, than flags, or any thing of that kind ? Were not such sort of ensigns necessary for their night-marches ? And since they who travel so much at their ease, and carry every convenience with them, think the same poles are sufficient for their purpose by day, without any flags, have we not reason to suppose Israel was not encumbered with flags in their march, but that their night-ensigns did for them too when they travelled in the day-time, which, we may believe, was more rarely ?

* Vol. II. p. 33.—These are the *Mashals* mentioned in a preceding note.—EDIT.

The surprising likeness between the managements of the Mecca caravans, and that of Israel in the wilderness, in other points, strongly induces the belief of this.

Yet they have not been children only that have amused themselves with supposing, that a flag, on which was delineated the figure of a child, was the standard of Reuben ; and that others, that had the representations of a lion and an ox, were those of Judah and Ephraim, &c. Jewish rabbies of the West have proposed these conceits, and Christian doctors have been pleased with them : so they have been used sometimes by way of decoration in the frontispieces of our Bibles. Others have not admitted that images were used for this purpose ; they have formed other suppositions :* but I do not know of any that have explained the standards of Israel after this manner, and supposed that they were differently figured portable beacons.

This account may, at the same time, throw some light on two or three passages of the Canticles ; which, on the other hand, may serve to establish this explanation.

My beloved is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand, says the spouse. Cant. v. 10. ; or, *a standard-bearer among ten thousand*, דגל מרבבה *dagul merebah,*) according to the margin. All the ground of making these words synonymous is, I presume, the supposing a standard-bearer the

* Bishop Patrick, on Numb. ii. 2., supposes the name of Judah, of Reuben, and of each of the other Patriarchs, might be embroidered in their ensigns ; or that they might be distinguished by their colours only.

chiefest of the company, which by no means appears to be true : it is not so among the modern people of the East, any more than among us. I will not, however, press this, since it seems to be merely a slip of the translators, and that what is meant, is, one before whom a standard is borne ; which is a mark of dignity in the East, as well as in the West, and which the word must signify, if any thing of this sort (dignity) be meant, since it is a passive, not an active participle in the Hebrew : that is, the word does not signify one that lifts up the banner, but one whom the lifting up the banner some how respects, or concerns. It is not however so natural, upon the whole, to understand this passage of one before whom an ensign of dignity was borne, because I have shewn that the original word is most probably to be understood of portable beacons, which are necessary to travellers in the night, but not, that I know of, ever considered as marks of dignity on the one hand ; whilst, on the other, if it be understood of one of these Eastern flambeaux, for in that view the participle *pahul* of the verb will signify the enlightened, and consequently dazzling, glistening, or something of that kind : and so the meaning of the spouse will appear to have probably been, that her bridegroom was dazzling beyond ten thousand, or was dazzling like a person surrounded by ten thousand lights.

The making out of another expression, which occurs twice in the same book, has also appeared somewhat difficult, but may be illustrated perhaps by the same thought. *Terrible as an army with*

banners, אַימָה כְּנִידַגָּלוֹת *ayummah kenidaggaloth*, is the expression, which we meet with in the 4th, and again in the 10th verse of the vth chapter of Canticles, where it is to be remarked that the word *army* is not in the original; and as it is supposed by Buxtorf, in his Concordance, to be the feminine plural of the passive participle, and consequently may be understood to signify *women embannered*, if that expression were allowable, women shone upon by lights, that is, according to the preceding explanation; the meaning may with ease be understood to be, “My spouse is dazzling as women dressed in rich attire, surrounded by nuptial flambeaux, with which they are lighted home.” In this view, those words that follow this expression when first used, *Turn away thine eyes from me, for they have overcome me*, appear perfectly natural: as do also those that precede the second, *Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun?*

It may not be unfit to add, that those places that speak of the standards of the tribes, and these that I have endeavoured to illustrate in the Book of Canticles, are all the passages in which this Hebrew word occurs, excepting Ps. xx. 5., and Cant. ii. 4. The first wants no illustration; and the applying this thought to the second, may, perhaps, give the easiest interpretation that can be found of that passage. Love was the flambeaux by which the bridegroom conducted her to the house of wine: so love is compared to flaming wood, in this very book, chap. viii. 6, 7.

The word *beacon* occurs indeed in another place,* in our version ; but it is not there דגל *daggal*, in the original, which I am supposing signifies a portable beacon, but תרן *toren*, which may possibly incline my reader not to admit that sense I have been affixing to these passages, as unwilling to suppose there are two words in so scanty a language signifying beacon : it ought however to be remembered, that though our version renders it beacon, it signifies properly no more than a sign, whatever that sign might be, whether the sticking up a spear, displaying a flag, making a smoke, or any thing else ; and it is somewhat strange that our translators should use so particular a term as beacon, to express a word of such a general meaning.†

OBSERVATION XXXIV.

The Necessity of Guides in travelling through the Eastern Deserts.

WHEN Moses begged of Hobab not to leave Israel, because they were to encamp in the wilderness, and he might be to them instead of eyes, Numb. x. 31., he doubtless meant that he might be a guide to them in the difficult journies they had to take in the wilderness : for so Job, when he would express his readiness to bring forward on their journey those that were enfeebled with sickness, or hurt by accidents, and to guide them in their way that were blind, or ignorant of it, says,

* Isaiah xxx. 17.

† See Numb. xxvi. 10.

I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame,
Job xxix. 15.

Every body, accordingly, at all acquainted with the nature of such deserts as Israel had to pass through, must be sensible of the great importance of having some of the natives of that country for guides: they know where water is to be found, and can lead to places proper, on that account, for encampments. Without their help, travelling would be much more difficult in these deserts, and indeed often fatal. The importance of having these Arab guides appears, from such a number of passages in books of travels, that every one whose reading has at all turned this way, must be apprized of them; for which reason I shall cite none in particular. The application then of Moses to Hobab the Midianite, that is, to a principal Arab of the tribe of Midian, would have appeared perfectly just, had it not been for this thought, that the cloud of the Divine Presence went before Israel, and directed their marches. Of what consequence then could Hobab's journeying with them be?

A man would take more upon himself than he ought to do, that should affirm the attendance of such an one as Hobab was of no use to Israel, in their removing from station to station: it is very possible, the guidance of the cloud might not be so minute as absolutely to render his offices of no value. But I will mention another thing, that will put the propriety of this request of Moses quite out of dispute. The sacred history expressly mentions several journies undertaken by parties of the

Israelites, while the main body laid still : so in Numb. xiii. we read of a party that was sent out to reconnoitre the land of Canaan ; in ch. xx. of the messengers sent from Kadesh unto the King of Edom ; in ch. xxxi. of an expedition against the idolatrous Midianites ; of some little expeditions, in the close of ch. xxx. ; and more journies, of the like kind, were without doubt undertaken, which are not particularly recounted. Now Moses, foreseeing something of this, might well beg the company of Hobab, not as a single Arab, but as a prince of one of their clans, that he might be able to apply to him from time to time, for some of his people, to be conductors to those he should have occasion to send out to different places, while the body of the people, and the cloud of the LORD, continued unmoved.

Nor was their assistance only wanted in respect to water, when any party of them was sent out upon some expedition ; but the whole congregation must have had frequent need of them, for directions where to find fuel. Manna continually, and sometimes water, were given them miraculously ; their clothes also were exempted from decay while in the wilderness ; but fuel was wanted to warm them some part of the year, at all times to bake and seethe the manna, according to Exod. xvi. 23. ; and was never obtained but in a natural way, that we know of : for this then they wanted the assistance of such Arabs as were perfectly acquainted with that desert. So Thevenot, describing his travelling in this very desert, says, on the night of the 25th of January they rested in a place where

was some broom,* for that their guides never brought them to rest any where, (willingly we are to suppose,) but in places where they could find some fuel, not only to warm them, but to prepare their coffee and mafrouca. He complains also of their resting-place on the night of the 28th of January, on the account of their not being able to find any wood there, not so much as to boil coffee.† A like complaint he makes of the night between the eighth and ninth of February, when not being able to get into Suez, he was obliged to lie without the gates till it was day, suffering a great deal of cold, because they had no wood to make a fire.‡

Moses hoped Hobab would be instead of eyes to the Israelites, both with respect to the guiding their parties to wells and springs in the desert, and the giving the people in general notice where they might find fuel: for though they frequently make use in this desert of camels-dung for fuel,§ this could not, we imagine, wholly supply their wants; and, in fact, we find the Israelites sought about for other firing.||

* Part i. p. 163.

† P. 165.

‡ P. 172.

§ See Shaw's Pref. p. 12.

|| Numb. xv. 32, 33. There is one circumstance attending these deserts, which Sir J. Chardin has mentioned in one of his MSS. so curious, that I cannot but set it down here, though I do not know that it illustrates any passage of Scripture; and though, I think, I have seen it in other writers, who, however, have not been explicit and large in their accounts. "There is a splendour, or vapour, in the plains of the desert," he says, "formed by the repercussion of the rays of the sun from the sand, that appears like a vast lake. Travellers of the desert,

OBSERVATION XXXV.

Heaps of Stones placed at certain Distances to point out the Way in the Deserts.

THE situation of Babylon, on the river Euphrates, must have made causeways necessary to those that had occasion to go thither or come from thence, as marks set up must have been very requisite to those that had to pass through the deserts, that lay between Chaldea and Palestine: to both which conveniencies Isaiah seems to refer, as well as to some other circumstances attending Eastern travelling, in that passage in which he prophetically describes the return of Israel from Babylon.

The passage I mean is in the close of the lxiid chapter: *Go through, go through the gates; prepare ye the way of the people; cast up, cast up the highway: gather out the stones; lift up a standard for the people—Behold the LORD hath proclaimed unto the end of the world, Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold thy salvation cometh.*

afflicted with thirst, are drawn on by such appearances, but coming near, find themselves mistaken: it seems to draw back as they advance, or quite vanishes. I have seen this in several places. Q. Curtius takes notice of it, in speaking of Alexander the Great in Susiana." Odd phenomenon this! May we suppose it is referred to by the Prophet, Jer. xv. 18.?

See something like this, 2 Kings iii. 23. Dr. Russell, in a MS. note, mentions the same circumstance.—EDIT.

Irwin, speaking of his passing through the deserts on the Eastern side of the Nile, in his going from Upper Egypt to Cairo, tells us,* “that after leaving a certain valley which he mentions, their road lay over level ground. As it would be next to an impossibility to find the way over these stony flats, where the heavy foot of a camel leaves no impression, the different bands of robbers (wild Arabs he means, who frequent that desert,) have heaped up stones at unequal distances, for their direction through this desert. We have derived great assistance from the robbers in this respect, who are our guides when the marks either fail, or are unintelligible to us.” After which he remarks, that if it be considered, that this road to Cairo is seldom trodden, it is no wonder that those persons they had with them, as conductors, were frequently at a loss to determine their way through this desert.

The learned know very well, that there were many great deserts in various parts of the East, and in particular a great desert between Babylon and Judea; and as Judea was, in the time of the captivity, an abandoned country, at least as to a great part of it, and the road through that desert might have been much neglected, is it not reasonable to suppose, that the piling up heaps of stones might actually be of considerable importance, to facilitate the return of Israel into their own country? And if not, is it not natural to suppose the difficulties in the way of their return might be

represented by want of such works? And consequently that that clause should be rendered, not *gather out the stones*, but *throw ye up heaps of stones*, that you may be directed in your march through the most difficult and dangerous places where you are to pass.

It is certain the word סקל *sakkeloo* that is used here is, confessedly, in every other place but one (Isa. v. 2. ;) used to signify the throwing stones at a person, after which they were wont to cover them with a heap of them, as a memorial of what was done, (see particularly the account of the punishment of Achan, Josh. vii. 25, 26. ;) now it must appear somewhat strange, that the same word should signify gathering stones up in order to take them away, and also, on the contrary, to cover over a person or a spot with them, thrown up on a heap. And especially when the stoning the ways, that is, pouring down heaps of stone, at proper distances, to direct travellers in danger of mistaking their way, is so natural a thought in this passage; while we find few or no traces of the gathering stones out of an Eastern road, to make journeying more pleasant to the traveller.

The other passage, in the vth of Isaiah, may be understood in something of the same manner, even if we take the first word to signify fencing, as our translators do, which nevertheless is very uncertain: *He fenced it*, (his vineyard;) וסכלו *va-yesakkelo*, and stoned it, (that is, piled stones, in form of a wall, instead of sun-dried bricks, which soon moulder away,) and planted it with the choicest vine.

The Septuagint however, I must acknowledge, translate neither of these passages in the manner that seems most natural to me, though their translation was made in Egypt, in the wild part of which country, towards the Red Sea, these heaps of stone are now found. But it is to be remembered, that they lived under a more settled form of government, which made travelling through that part of the desert, where these stones are now found, unnecessary. Their way of travelling in Egypt being almost entirely upon the Nile, and its numerous canals, or where the country was filled with people; this circumstance then might not occur to these translators, especially as there is no occasion to this day, of such assistance in the desert between Egypt and the Jewish country, through which these translators might only have had occasion to pass.

The same writer has taken notice, in his *Travels*, of the banks thrown up in Egypt, on which the overflowing of the Nile obliges them to pass; which must in like manner have been necessary in the marshes about Babylon; to the fenny nature of which country the Psalmist refers, when he says, *By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down—We hanged our harps upon the willows, in the midst thereof.* Ps. cxxxvii. 1, 2. To these Isaiah appears to refer, in these words, *Cast up, cast up the highway*; or, as the Bishop of London translates it, “Cast ye up the causeway.”

Irwin also takes notice of its having been customary to light up fires on the mountains, within view of Cosire, (a town on the Red Sea, in which

he then was,) to give notice of the approach of the caravans that came from the Nile to Cosire, though that custom was suspended, when he was there, on the account of the wild Arabs, who had been for some time roving about in that neighbourhood, and who, it was feared, would have made a bad use of such signals.* These notices are of use on various accounts, and particularly to meet caravans with assistance.

It is to some similar management, I presume, Isaiah refers in this place, where he speaks of the lifting up a standard ; or, as the original word is of a much more general signification, and is used for any sign,† *Lift up a sign above the nations*, (upon the tops of their hills,) announcing the approach of the captivity of Israel, returning to their own country, that they may meet them with refreshments,‡ and such assistances as may help them forward in their way to the land of their fore-fathers.

How lively the comparing the benefits derived from the edict of Cyrus, giving liberty and encouragement to Israel to return to the land of their ancestors, to the making causeways through marshy countries, piling up heaps of stone in unfrequented deserts, and meeting travellers with refreshments, and every other assistance that they might want.

* P. 139.

† See Numb. xxvi. 10. ; and perhaps it directly signifies fire, and a sign, Isa. xxxi. 9.

‡ Deut. xx. 3, 4.

288 *Concerning their Manner of Travelling.*

The first clause, *Go through, go through the gates*, seems to refer to the custom of the East for travellers to assemble together, in some place out of the city, in order to get ready for journeying together in company, which I have elsewhere taken notice of, and therefore need not repeat it here.

CHAPTER VI.

EASTERN MODES OF HONOURING THE LIVING AND
THE DEAD.

OBSERVATION I.*Gifts presented to Inferiors in the East.*

PRESENTING gifts is one of the most universal customs among the Asiatics ; and the use of them was, as well as is, much more extensive in the East than with us.

Such as are prejudiced against the Sacred History, and unacquainted with Eastern customs, may be ready, from the donations to the Prophets, to imagine they were a mercenary set of people, and rudely to rank them with cunning men, and fortune-tellers, who will not from principles of benevolence reveal those secrets, or foretel those future events, of the knowledge of which they are supposed to be possessed ; but demand of the anxious enquirer a large reward. This however will make impressions on none but those who know not the oriental usages, which Maundrell long since applied, with such clearness and force, to one of the most exceptionable passages of the Old Testament, that he has sufficiently satisfied the mind upon this

point. As he has expressly applied it to a passage of Scripture, it would not have been agreeable to my design to have mentioned this circumstance, had I not had some additional remarks to make upon this head, which possibly may not be ungrateful to the curious reader, and which therefore I shall here set down. I suppose my reader acquainted with Maundrell ; but it will be proper, for the sake of perspicuity, first to recite at full length that passage in him I refer to.

“ Thursday, March 11. This day we all dined at Consul Hasting’s house ; and after dinner went to wait upon Ostan, the bassa of Tripoli, having first sent our present, as the manner is among the Turks, to procure a propitious reception.

“ It is counted uncivil to visit in this country without an offering in hand. All great men expect it as a kind of tribute due to their character and authority ; and look upon themselves as affronted, and indeed defrauded, when this compliment is omitted. Even in familiar visits, amongst inferior people, you shall seldom have them come without bringing a flower, or an orange, or some other such token of their respect to the person visited : the Turks in this point keeping up the ancient Oriental customs hinted 1 Sam. ix. 7. *If we go, (says Saul) what shall we bring the man of God ? there is not a present, &c.* which words are questionless to be understood in conformity to this Eastern custom, as relating to a token of respect, and not a price of divination.”*

Maundrell does not tell us what the present was which they made Ostan. It will be more entirely satisfying to the mind to observe, that in the East they not only universally send before them a present or carry one with them, especially when they visit superiors, either civil or ecclesiastical; but that this present is frequently a piece of money, and that of no very great value. So Dr. Pococke tells us, that he presented an Arab sheikh of an illustrious descent, on whom he waited, and who attended him to the ancient Hierapolis, with a piece of money, which he was told he expected;* and that in Egypt an Aga being dissatisfied with the present he made him, he sent for the Doctor's servant, and told him, that he ought to have given him a piece of cloth; and, if he had none, two sequins, worth about a guinea, must be brought to him, otherwise he should see him no more; with which demand he complied.† In one case a piece of money was expected; in the other two sequins demanded. A trifling present of money to a person of distinction amongst us would be an affront: it is not so, however, in the East. Agreeably to these accounts of Pococke, we are told, in the Travels of Egmont and Heyman, that the well of Joseph in the castle of Cairo is not to be seen without leave from the Commandant; which having obtained, they, in return, presented him with a sequin.‡ These instances are curious exemplifications of Mr. Maundrell's account of the nature of some of the Eastern presents, and ought by no

* Vol. II. p. 167.

† Vol. I. p. 119.

‡ Vol. II. p. 76.

means to be omitted in collections of the kind I am now making.

How much happier was the cultivation of Mr. Maundrell's genius than of St. Jerom's ! Though this father lived so many years in the East, and might have advantageously applied the remains of their ancient customs to the elucidation of Scripture, to which, if he was a stranger, he must have been an egregiously negligent observer ; yet we find him, in his comment on Micah iii. 11., roundly declaring, that by a Prophet's receiving money, his prophesying became divination. And when he afterwards mentions this case of Saul's application to Samuel, as what he foresaw might be objected to him, he endeavours to avoid the difficulty, by saying, We do not find that Samuel accepted it, or that they even ventured to offer it ; or if it must be supposed that he received it, that it was rather to be considered as money presented to the tabernacle, than the rewards of prophesying.* How embarrassed was the Saint by a circumstance capable of the most clear explanation ! Fond of allegorizing, he neglected the surest methods of interpretation, for which he had peculiar advantages : how different are the rewards of divination, which were to be

* Prophetæ Hierusalem in pecuniâ divinabant, nescientes aliud esse prophetiam, aliud divinationem :—Videbantur sibi quidem esse Prophetiæ : sed quia pecuniam accipiebant, prophetia ipsorum facta est divinatio.—Nec quenquam moveat illud quod in primo Regum libro legimus : Saul volentem ire ad Samuel dixisse puero suo, &c. : non enim scriptum est, quod Samuel acceperit : aut quod illi obtulerint.—Sed fac eum accepisse, stipes magis æstimandæ sunt tabernaculi, quam munera prophetiæ.

earned, from the unconditional presents that were made to persons of figure upon being introduced into their presence !

Before I quit this Observation, I cannot forbear remarking, that there are other things presented in the East, besides money, which appear to us extremely low and mean, unworthy the quality of those that offer them, or of those to whom they are presented ; and consequently that we must be extremely unqualified to judge of these oriental compliments. In what light might an European wit place the present of a Governor of an Egyptian village, who sent to a British Consul fifty eggs as a mark of respect ;* and that in a country where they are so cheap as to be sold at the rate of ten for a penny ?†

OBSERVATION II.

Particular Kinds of Presents made to Superiors.

WHAT the presents were that were made to the ancient Prophets, we are not always told ; but all the particulars of that made by Jeroboam's queen to the Prophet Ahijah are given us, 1 Kings xiv. 3. I very much question, however, whether that was any part of the disguise she assumed, as an eminent prelate supposes,† who imagines she

* Pococke's Travels, Vol. I. p. 17.

† Seven or eight for a medine, or three farthings. Pococke, Vol. I. p. 260.

‡ See Patrick on 1 Kings xiv. 3.

presented him with such things as might make the Prophet think her to be a country-woman, rather than a courtier.

It undoubtedly was not a present that proclaimed royalty ; that would have been contrary to Jeroboam's intention that she should be concealed. But it does not appear to have been, in the estimation of the East, a present only fit for a country-woman to have made : for d'Arvieux tells us, that when he waited on an Arab emir, his mother and sister, to gratify whose curiosity that visit was made, sent him early in the morning after his arrival in their camp, a present of pastry, honey, fresh butter, with a basin of sweet-meats of Damascus.* now this present differs but little from that of Jeroboam's wife, who carried loaves, cracknells, (or rather cakes enriched with seeds,) and a cruse of honey, and was made by princesses that avowed their quality. The present then of Jeroboam's wife did not discover her quality ; but it was not so mean a present as the Bishop seems to suppose.

Sir John Chardin tells us, somewhere in his *Travels*, of an officer whose business it was to register the presents that were made to his master, or mistress : and I have since found the same practice obtains at the Ottoman court ; for Egmont and Heyman, speaking† of the presents made there on the account of the circumcision of the Grand Signior's children, tell us that all these donations, with the time when, and on what occasion given, were carefully registered in a book

* Voy. dans la Pal. par. la Roque, p. 50.

† Vol. I. p. 214.

for that purpose. If a collection of papers of this sort, belonging to the bashaw of Gaza, the moslem of Jerusalem, or the Arab emirs of the Holy Land, were put into our hands ; or if our countrymen, that reside in the Levant, were to furnish us with minute accounts of the presents made there which come to their knowledge, it would be not only an amusing curiosity, but would enable us, I make no question, to produce instances of modern gifts parallel to those that are mentioned in the Scripture history, in almost all cases ; and if not absolutely in all, I dare say similar to those that appear most odd to us, at the same time, that it would enable us to enter into the rationale of them much better than we do now.

Thus the making presents of eatables, not only to those that were upon a journey, which, in a country where they carried their own provisions with them, was perfectly natural ; but to those whom they visited in their own houses, as the wife of Jeroboam did to Ahijah, and some of them persons of great distinction, as Saul would have done to Samuel, the Judge of Israel as well as a Prophet, had not all his provisions been expended, in a journey which proved more tedious than he expected, appears to have been a custom perfectly conformable to what is at present practised in the East, and had a ground for it in nature, which modern travellers have explained to us.

“ This custom,” (of making presents,) says Maillet,* “ is principally observed in the frequent

* Let. xi. p. 137.

visits which they make one another through the course of the year, which are always preceded by presents of fowls, sheep, rice, coffee, and other provisions of different kinds. These visits, which relations and friends make regularly to each other, were in use among the ancient Egyptians; and though they are often made without going out of the same city, yet they never fail of lasting three or four days, and sometimes eight. They carry all their family with them, if they have any; and the custom is, as I have just observed, to send presents before-hand, proportionate to their rank, and the number of their attendants."

When they consulted a Prophet then, the Eastern modes required a present; and they might think it was right rather to present him with eatables than other things, because it frequently happened that they were detained there some time, waiting the answer of God, during which time hospitality would require the Prophet to ask them to take some repast with him. And as the Prophet would naturally treat them with some regard to their quality, they doubtless did then, as the Egyptians do now, proportion their presents to their avowed rank and number of attendants. The present of Jeroboam's wife was that of a woman in affluent circumstances, though it by no means determined her to be a princess. That made to the Prophet Samuel, was the present of a person that expected to be treated like a man in low life; how great then must be his surprise, first to be treated with distinguished honour in a large company, and then to be anointed king over Israel!

But though this seems to have been the original ground, of presenting common eatables to persons who were visited at their own houses, I would by no means be understood to affirm they have always kept to this, and presented eatables when they expected to stay with them and take some repast, and other things when they did not. Accuracy is not to be expected in such matters: the observation, however, naturally accounts for the rise of this sort of presents.

In other cases, the presents that anciently were, and of late have been wont to be, made to personages eminent for study and piety, were large sums of money,* or vestments: so the present that a Syrian nobleman would have made to an Israelitish Prophet, with whom he did not expect to stay any time, or indeed to enter his house, *Behold, I thought he will certainly come out to me, and stand and call on the name of the LORD his God, and strike his hand over the place, and recover the leper,*† consisted of ten talents of silver, and six thousand pieces of gold, and ten changes of raiment. It is needless to mention the pecuniary gratifications that have been given to men of learn-

* Sums of money are presented also to others, by princes and great personages. So Sir John Chardin observes, in his MS. on occasion of Joseph's being said to have given Benjamin three hundred pieces of silver, Gen. xlv. 22., that the kings of Asia almost always make presents of this kind to ambassadors, and to other strangers of consideration who have brought them presents. So the khalif Mahadi, according to d'Herbelot, gave an Arab, that had entertained him in the desert, a vest, and a purse of silver.

† 2 Kings v. 11.

ing in the East in later times ; but as to vestments, d'Herbelot* tells us, that Bokhteri, an illustrious poet of Cufah in the ninth century, had so many presents made him in the course of his life, that at his death he was found possessed of an hundred complete suits of clothes, two hundred shirts, and five hundred turbans. An indisputable proof of the frequency with which presents of this kind are made in the Levant to men of study : and at the same time a fine illustration of Job's description of the treasures of the East in his days, consisting of raiment as well as silver, Job xxvii. 16, 17.†

* P. 208, 209.

† So Sir J. Chardin tells us in his note here, " that it is customary through all the East to gather together an immense collection of furniture and clothes, for their fashions never alter. They heap them up in wardrobes, as they heap up mud for mortar in building. This is the ground of this metaphor."

I have some doubt, however, I must confess, of the justness of this account of the ground of this image. If it means any thing more than what is mentioned Zech. ix. 3., which I much question, I should say that possibly, as the word translated *dust* signifies *plastering*, and that rendered *clay*, *mortar*, the heaping up silver like plastering may point out the piling up silver against the walls of their apartments, as if they had been plastered with silver ; and the preparing raiment as mortar may possibly refer to the walls covered with bitumen, or mortar of a dark colour, vestments being heaped up from the bottom to the top of these repositories of theirs. But the more simple interpretation, I first pointed out, seems much preferable.—

HARM.

Indeed any interpretation is preferable to this far-fetched one.

—EDIT.

OBSERVATION III.

The preceding Subject continued.

THEY not only make presents of provisions, but of other things which they imagine may be acceptable, and in particular of conveniences for the making their eating and drinking more agreeable.

So when Dr. Perry travelled in Egypt, and visited the temple at Luxor, he says, “ We were entertained by the cashif here with great marks of civility and favour ; he sent us, in return of our presents, several sheep, a good quantity of eggs, bardacks,” &c.* These bardacks he had described a little before,† in speaking of a town called Keene : “ Its chief manufactory,” he there tells us, “ is in bardacks, to cool and refresh their water in, by means of which it drinks very cool and pleasant in the hottest seasons of the year. They make an inconceivable quantity of these, which they distribute to Cairo, and all other parts of Egypt. They send them down in great floats, consisting of many thousands, lashed together in such a manner as to bear the weight of several people upon them. We purchased a good many of them for the fancy, at so inconsiderable a price as twenty pence an hundred ; and are really surprised how they could make them for it.”

Here we see earthen vessels presented to the Doctor, and those of a very cheap kind, along

* P. 346, 347.

† P. 339, 340.

with provisions ; and this apparently because they are of great use in that country for cooling their water. Perhaps we shall be less surprised, after reading this, at the basins and earthen vessels presented to David at Mahanaim, by some of the great men of that part of the country, along with sheep, flour, honey, &c. 2 Sam. xvii. 28, 29.

OBSERVATION IV.

Presents made at the Circumcision of Children.

BUT though nothing is more customary in the Levant than the giving and receiving of presents, and persons of the most exalted characters for dignity, virtue, or piety, make in common no difficulty of receiving them, there are some instances however of those that have refused them.

So Mons. Maillet tells us, that at the circumcision of their children they are commonly wont to receive presents ;* nevertheless he tells us, that Ishmael, who was bashaw of Egypt while he resided there, and whose only son was circumcised whilst he was in that high office, refused to accept any presents on that occasion, (though every one, according to his respective rank and quality, was prepared to make him a present, according to the Turkish custom, and though Ishmael's expences were extremely great,) the French Consul's excepted, which he had the politeness to receive,

* Lett. xi. p. 136.

telling the interpreters that he had determined not to accept of any presents, but that he could not refuse this mark of friendship from the Consul of France, for whom his was the most sincere.*

This was very extraordinary, Maillet says; indeed the most extraordinary thing in that solemnity, which he represents as one of the most pompous spectacles in the world. What the occasion of Ishmael's departure from established usages was, we are not told: he had doubtless his reasons. Elisha also had his for not receiving the present brought him by Naaman, 2 Kings v. 16.; who yet accepted that brought by Hazael, ch. viii. 9. What those reasons were, we are not informed; but I dare say that assigned by Bishop Patrick, or rather Abarbanel, was not among them;—that the one presented him with silver, and gold, and raiment, and such like things of value; whereas the other made him a present of food, bread and wine, fruit and fowl, which was a fit present for the Prophet, who might be presumed to be weary with his journey. According to Oriental notions, there was no greater impropriety in accepting a present of silver and gold, than of provisions; it is sufficient to observe, that on some occasions they think proper to decline presents, without having any objection to the nature of them. Secular men, in some cases, have refused them as well as the old Prophets; but in common they are presented to all people of distinction.

* Lett. xi. p. 79.

OBSERVATION V.

Presents of Meat and Drink made to their great Men.

WHEN d'Arvieux attended that Arab emir, whom I mentioned before, a vessel happened to be shipwrecked on that coast. The emir perceived it from the top of the mountains, and immediately repaired to the shore to profit by the misfortune. Staying some time, it grew so late that he determined to spend the night there, under his tents, and ordered supper to be got ready. "Nothing," says d'Arvieux, "was more easy; for every body at Tartoura, (in the neighbourhood of which town the emir then was,) vied with each other as to the presents they brought of meat, fowl, game, fruit, coffee, &c. Were they not presents of this kind that the children of Belial neglected to bring? I Sam. x. 27.

A band of men, we are told, whose hearts God had touched, went with Saul, when he returned home from Gibeah: what for?—Doubtless to attend him in expeditions against the enemies of their country: in those expeditions the places through or near which he passed, seem to have furnished him and his men with provisions, as the Arabs of Tartoura did this emir; but some sons of Belial, some perverse towns, or some unhappily-disposed particular persons of wealth and figure, refused to pay him this compliment, despising

these efforts of his against the enemies of their country, till the affair with the Ammonites perfectly settled his authority. Whether the refractoriness of these people was the cause or not, I am not able to say, but it seems sufficiently plain that he had dismissed this band of men, before that exploit of his against the Ammonites, and for some time before had led a less public and martial life, 1 Sam. xi. 5.

In like manner Gideon, one of the judges of Israel, expected this sort of compliment, and met with the like insult, which he severely punished, Judg. viii. 5. 8. 16, 17.

We are told indeed by some commentators, and the learned Drusius is of that number, according to Pool,* that it was the custom to make presents to a king when he was inaugurated; but I do not know on what authority. The remark of Vatablus however, in the same collection, is, without doubt, very inaccurate, who, upon the Chaldee paraphrast's giving this sense of this clause, *they came not to salute him*, says, this ought to be understood of the first salutation, which was not to be unattended with presents, Things must have been very different in the East anciently, from what they are now, if every visit did not require an acknowledgment of this kind.

As to the ground of the complaint then that they brought him no present, I submit it to the reader to determine which is the most natural supposition, whether that of those who imagine, the complaint

* Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

relates to some persons omitting to make him a visit of congratulation, as the Chaldee paraphrast seems to think ; or of those who apprehend, it refers to the neglect of accommodating him, in his marches from place to place, with provisions for himself and attendants.

Barzillai's and other people's supplying David at Mahanaim with honey, butter, sheep, wheat, &c. on these grounds, appears to have been not a mere act of benevolence and pity, but the paying him the wonted respect with which their princes were treated ; and consequently acknowledging him, in the best manner, their sovereign, while the greatest part of the Israelites were in rebellion against him.

OBSERVATION VI.

Presents often very expensive in the East, not only those made to Strangers, but to private Persons.

THERE is often in these countries a great deal of pomp and parade in presenting their gifts ; and that not only when they are presented to princes or governors of provinces, but where they are of a more private nature.

Thus Dr. Russell tells us,* that the money which the bridegrooms of Aleppo pay for their brides, is laid out in furniture for a chamber, in cloaths, jewels, or ornaments of gold, for the bride, whose

* Vol. I. p. 284, 285.

father makes some addition, according to his circumstances ; which things are sent with great pomp to the bridegroom's house three days before the wedding. The like management obtains in Egypt, and is in a very lively manner described by Maillet, in his account of that country,* where these gifts are carried with great pomp too to the bridegroom's house, but on the marriage-day itself, and immediately before the bride : carpets, cushions, mattresses, coverlets, pignates,† dishes, basins, jewels, trinkets of gold, pearls, girdles, plate, every thing down to the wooden sandals wrought with mother-of-pearl, which they call cobcal. And through ostentation, says this writer, they never fail to load upon four or five horses what might easily be carried by one ; in like manner as to the jewels, trinkets, and other things of value, they place in fifteen dishes what a single plate would very well hold.

Something of this pomp seems to be referred to in Judges iii. 18., where we read of *making an end of offering the present*, and of a number of people that bare it ; all which apparently points out the introducing with great distinctness, as well as ceremony, every part of the present sent to this ancient prince, and the making use of as many hands in it as might be, conformably to the modern *ritual* of the Eastern courts. But what I chiefly take notice of it for, is to illustrate the account that is given us of Benhadad's present to the Prophet

* Let. x. p. 86.

† What he means by this word, I do not know.

Elisha, which consisted of forty camels' burthen of the good things of Damascus.* This Syrian prince without doubt sent Elisha a present answerable to his magnificence. But can it be imagined that it was the full loading of forty camels, and at the same time wholly consisting of provisions, such as bread and wine, fruit and fowl, as a Jewish rabbi supposed, if I understand Bishop Patrick right?†

A gentleman, I remember, once shewed me a prodigious tooth in his possession, which apparently had belonged to one of the monsters of the deep, but was found by one of his ancestors among the treasures of a Roman Catholic, who was fond of relics, wrapped up in silk, besides two or three outer covers of paper, on one of which was written, *A tooth of the holy Saint Paul*. "Don't you think," said the humourous possessor, turning himself to the company with this curiosity, "that Saint Paul had a fine set of grinders?" One would imagine these commentators must have supposed the Prophet Elisha's were full as large, to be able to make use of forty camel-loads of provisions, equivalent to twenty thousand pounds' weight‡ at least, during his stay at Damascus.

* 2 Kings viii. 9. † In his Com. on the place.

‡ See Russell, Vol. II. p. 166, who tells us there, that the Arab camel carries one hundred Rotoloes, or five hundred pounds' weight, according to which forty camel-loads are equal to twenty thousand pounds; but the Turkmans' camel's common load is one hundred and sixty Rotoloes, or eight hundred pounds' weight. If we suppose these camels of Damascus were only of the Arab breed, twenty thousand pounds' weight was their proper loading.

The true light in which we are doubtless to consider this passage is, that the various things that were sent to Elisha for a present were carried for state on a number of camels, and that no fewer than forty were employed in the cavalcade; not that they carried each a full loading. And it is probable that besides eatables, and wine of Helbon, some of their valuable manufactures of white wool* were contained in the present: they were as properly the good things of Damascus, as the produce of their enchanting gardens.

OBSERVATION VII.

Presents often considered as a Tribute.

THE present that the children of Israel sent to Eglon king of Moab, was a kind of tribute, or an acknowledgment of inferiority and subjection; and the presents that are sent to powerful princes, by other kings, are frequently looked upon in this light by those that receive them.

Sir J. Chardin has remarked, that presents are viewed in this light, in such cases, not only in Turkey, but almost through all the Levant; and he very justly applies the thought to *Psa. lxxii. 10.* Those presents were evidently of that kind—the following verse puts it out of all doubt; but the haughty Asiatic princes oftentimes put that construction on presents that were not sent with any such intention. As they do so now, they probably

* *Ezek. xxvii. 18.*

did so anciently : to which some less powerful or distressed princes might the more willingly submit, as there was something equivocal in these marks of attention paid to potent princes.

OBSERVATION VIII.

Dresses often given to Persons of Distinction.

MAILLET, in that passage I quoted in the last article but one, speaks diminutively of the cobcal, or wooden sandals of the ladies, which are carried in their nuptial processions with the rest ; though, according to his own account, they are not wholly without ornaments. Shoes perhaps of this kind are referred to by the Prophet Amos, chap. ii. 6., where shoes have been commonly, and it appears from hence with justness, understood to mean something of a trifling value.

The Turkish officers, and “ also their wives,” says Rauwolff, speaking of Tripoli on the coast of Syria,* “ go very richly cloathed with rich flowered silks, artificially made and mixed of several colours. But these cloaths are commonly given them by those that have causes depending before them, (for they do not love to part with their own money,) to promote their cause, and to be favourable to them.”

I think I see here a picture of the corruption of the Jewish judges that Amos complains of :

silver made them pervert the judgment of the righteous ; nay, so mean a piece of finery as a pair of wooden sandals for their wives would make them condemn the innocent poor, who could not afford to make them a present of equal value.

Amos viii. 6. is, I suppose, to be understood in the same light : the rich defrauding the poor, knowing that if those poor complained, they could carry their point against them for *a little silver*, if not for a pair of *cobcal*.

OBSERVATION IX.

Flowers and odoriferous Herbs often given as a Token of Friendship.

BUT mean as the present of a pair of cobcal may seem, presents of still less value are frequently made in these countries. “ In familiar visits, amongst inferior people, you shall seldom have them come without bringing a flower, or an orange, or some other such token of their respect to the person visited,” says Maundrell.* Bishop Pococke confirms thi : when speaking of his drawing near an encampment of the Arabs that attended him, in their way to Mount Sinai, he says, “ Here one of them, who had a difference with one of the company, as he was in his own country, came and brought him a flower, as a present, which

* See Obs. i. p. 290.

being accepted of, was a sign that all was made up.”*

These trifling presents however are not confined to the meanest of the people ; for Egmont or Heyman tells us,† that on their leaving Scala Nuova, some Greeks brought them flowers and odoriferous herbs as tokens of their friendship. In what a strong point of light, as to their veneration for our LORD, does this place the present the Eastern Magi made him ? In the circumstances in which they found him, a flower, an orange, (or a citron) or any such trifle, had been sufficient to introduce them to the young child : but mean as his appearance was, they treated him as a royal child, and even after they found the poverty of his parents, presented him with presents of the richest kind, gold, frankincense, and myrrh, such as the queen of Sheba presented to Solomon in his glory. But here doubtless we are to rest, and content ourselves with this simple explanation. To go on, and suppose the frankincense was designed by them, or intended by Providence itself, to intimate his Deity ; the myrrh his being a mortal ; and the gold his being a king ; is a refinement that is certainly unnatural, and absolutely in the monkish taste.

* Vol. I. p. 140.

† Vol. I. p. 125.

OBSERVATION X.

Presents, unless of considerable Value, are sometimes rejected.

BUT though things of very little value are sometimes offered as presents, those to whom presents are made do not think themselves always obliged graciously to accept every thing that is brought, or even to dissemble their dislike; they frequently reject the present, and refuse the favour sought.

The behaviour of an Aga in Egypt to Dr. Pococke demonstrates this; as does also this passage, of Capt. Norden. "The Cashef of Esna was encamped in this place. He made us come ashore. I waited immediately upon him, with some small presents. He received me very civilly, and ordered coffee to be served me. But he refused absolutely what I offered him as a present; and let me know by the interpreter, that, in the places from whence we were come, we had given things of greater value, and that we ought not to shew less respect to him."* Something of the like nature appears in many other passages in Travels.

If a present was not somewhat proportionate to the quality of the person applied to, the circumstances of him that offered it, and the value of the favour asked, it was rejected.

Lambs and sheep were often given as presents. So the Cashef, I have been speaking of, made

* Vol. II. p. 183.

Norden and his company a present the next day of two very fat sheep, together with a great basket of bread.* The reys or boatman, that had carried them up the Nile, we are told in like manner, came to see them three days before, and made them a present of an excellent sheep, together with a basket of Easter bread.†

Perhaps we may be ready to imagine, presents of this kind were only made to travellers, that wanted provisions ; but this would be a mistake. Sir John Chardin, in his MS. expressly tells us, “ it is the custom of the East for poor people, and especially those that live in the country, to make presents to their lords of lambs, and sheep, as an offering, tribute, or succession. Presents to men, like offerings to God, expiate offences.”‡

So D’Arvieux mentions lambs, among the things offered to him as presents, when he officiated as secretary to the Great emir of the Arabs. (Voy. dans la Pal. p. 62.)

The Jewish people were in a low state in the time of Malachi, and almost entirely engaged in country business.

* P. 184.

† P. 182.

‡ Coutume de l’Orient que les pauvres gens, sur tout des Champs, donnent à leur Seigneurs des agneaux & moutons en presens, en signe d’offrande, tribut, succession. Presents aux hommes, comme les offrandes à Dieu expient les Pechez. By the term *succession* I presume is meant a present made to a great man to obtain his favour, in case of dispute, about succeeding to an inheritance, or part of it.

No, it means the presents made to a great man on his *succeeding* to an *office*, or *employment*. See the following Observation.—EDIT.

How energetic, if we assemble these circumstances together, is the expostulation of the Prophet! *If ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? And if ye offer the lame and the sick, is it not evil? Offer it now unto thy governor, will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person?* Mal. i. 8.

When they made presents of lambs or sheep, they brought those that were very fat: would a Jewish governor have accepted one that was blind, and consequently half-starved? or pining with lameness or sickness?

OBSERVATION XI.

Horses commonly presented to Grandees.

THE common present that is now made to the great in these countries is a *horse*; there is reason to think an *ass* might formerly answer the same purpose.

“If it is a visit of ceremony from a bashaw,” says Dr. Russell, “or other person in power, a fine horse, sometimes with furniture, or some such valuable present, is made to him at his departure.” Dr. Perry* has given us many instances of horses being presented: among others, he tells us when a person has the dignity of a Bey conferred on him, the new-made Bey presents that officer from whom he receives the ensign, that is sent on the part of the sultan, with a horse, a fur of marte zebeline, and twenty thousand aspers.† In another

* P. 81.

† P. 50.

place he tells us the new Bashaw of Egypt, soon after his arrival, had three exceeding fine horses sent him as a present from some one of the Beys; and the next day a string of twenty-four was presented to him on the part of all the Beys that were present.*

As asses were used in the more remote ages of antiquity, and were esteemed no dishonourable beasts for the saddle, Sir J. Chardin, in his MS. supposes that when Samuel disclaimed having taken the ass of any one, when he denied his having defrauded any, oppressed any, or taken any bribe, 1 Sam. xii. 3., he is to be understood of not having taken any ass for his riding. In the same light he considers the similar declaration of Moses, Numb. xvi. 15. His account is, asses being then esteemed very honourable creatures for riding on,† as they are at this very time in Persia, being rode with saddles, though not like those for horses, yet such as are commodious, the Lawyers make great use of them. Consult Numb. xvi. 15.; for Moses is there to be understood as saying, that no beast for the saddle, such as were wont to be presented to grandees and emperors, had been accepted by him. The words of Samuel are to be considered after the same manner.

And this, I make no doubt, is one thought involved in this exculpation of themselves, though perhaps it does not contain the whole of what they meant.‡

* P. 208.

† See Numbers xxii. 21, 30. Judges v. 10. 2 Samuel xvi. 2.

‡ More seems to be meant, 1 Sam. viii. 16.

OBSERVATION XII.

When an Inferior is visited by a Superior, the former makes him a Present at his Departure.

PEOPLE that go into the presence of the great, carry with them some gift to make way for them, or send it before them; on the contrary, when a superior visits an inferior, it is expected that the inferior should make the visitor a present at his departure.

This is directly affirmed by Sir J. Chardin, in one of the notes of his MS. It is the custom of the East, he says, when one invites a superior, to make him a present after the repast, as it were in acknowledgment of his trouble; frequently it is done before it—it being no augmentation of honour to come to the house of one that is an inferior. But they make no presents to equals, or those that are below themselves.

Sir John applies this custom in the East to Jeroboam's proposing to the Prophet, that prophesied against the altar at Bethel, to give him a reward if he would go with him, and refresh himself, 1 Kings xiii. 7.* And he thinks this would have been understood by the king, as treating the Prophet as a superior: "Icy donc le roy vouloit traiter le prophete comme son superieur."

* The reward here mentioned seems to mean no more than a yearly salary.—EDIT.

I am much obliged to this writer, for the very clear account he has given of this Eastern custom; but I am somewhat apprehensive it is improperly applied to this passage of Scripture. I cannot easily suppose it was Jeroboam's intention to acknowledge the Prophet his superior. I should imagine nothing more was intended, by what he proposed to do, than what was done to Jeremiah by Nebuzar-adan, the captain of Nebuchadnezzar's guard, when he gave that Prophet *victuals and a reward, and let him go*, Jer. xl. 5.: and, I apprehend, no one imagines that commander designed to acknowledge the Jewish Prophet to be his superior.

If it is applicable to any sacred story, it seems to me to be that of Esau's coming to visit his brother, on which occasion Jacob presented him with a considerable number of cattle, telling him he *saw his face, as though he had seen the face of God*, Gen. xxxiii. 8, 10.

OBSERVATION XIII.

Presents sometimes made to Princes to engage them to lend their Assistance in Time of War.

I WILL not push my remarks on the presents of the East any farther here, excepting the making this single observation more, that the sending presents to princes to induce them to help the distressed, has been practised in these countries in late times, as well as in the days of Asa, of whom

we read, that he took all the silver and the gold that were left in the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king's house, and delivered them into the hand of his servants : and king Asa sent them to Ben-hadad the son of Tabrimon, the son of Hezion king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus, saying, There is a league between me and thee, and between my father and thy father : behold I have sent unto thee a present of silver and gold ; come and break thy league with Baasha king of Israel, that he may depart from me.*

To us it appears strange, that a present should be thought capable of inducing one prince to break with another, and engage himself in war. But as it was anciently thought sufficient, so we find in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*,† that an Eastern nobleman, that had the custody of a castle called Harsarth, quarrelling with his master the prince of Aleppo, and finding himself obliged to seek for foreign aid, sent presents to Godfrey of Bouillon, to induce him to assist him.‡ What they were we are not told ; but gold and silver, the things Asa sent Ben-hadad, were frequently sent in those times to the Croisade princes,§ and might probably be sent on this occasion to Godfrey.

But to proceed. Presents were frequently sent to the great, before those that sent them made

* 1 Kings xv. 18, 19.

† Tom. I. p. 730.

‡ Granting *subsides* is exactly the same in the *West* as those presents were in the *East* ; and productive of the same effects, i. e. "they induce princes to break with each other, and engage in war !" — EDIT.

§ Vide *Gesta Dei*, &c. p. 736.

their appearance: I have therefore considered them first: the forms of Eastern salutation follow.

OBSERVATION XIV.

On the Eastern Method of Salutations.

A LEARNED, as well as ingenious and lively commentator, (Dr. Doddridge,) supposes, that the salutation our LORD refers to, Matt. v. 47., *If ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans so?* means *embracing*, though it is a different word, I would observe, that is made use of in the Septuagint to express that action of endearment;* and which is made use of by an apocryphal writer:† whereas the word we translate *salute* is of a much more general nature: this, I apprehend, arose from his being struck with the thought, that it could never be necessary to caution his disciples, not to restrain the civilities of a common salutation to those of their own religious party.

Juvenal, when he satirizes the Jews of the apostolic age for their religious opinions, and represents them as unfriendly, and even malevolent to other people;‡ and when he mentions their refusing to shew travellers the way, or to point out to them where they might find water

* Περὶ ἀμύξανω, Gen. xxix. 13. 1 Kings iv. 16. Cant. ii. 6.

† Eccclus. xxx. 19.

‡ Sat. 14. Non monstrare vias, &c.

to drink when thirsty with journeying, takes no notice of their not saluting those of another nation; yet there is reason to believe, from these words of CHRIST, that many of them at least would not, and that even a Jewish publican received no salutations from one of his own nation, excepting brother publicans.

Nor shall we wonder at this, or think it requisite to suppose the word we translate *salute* (Ασπάζομαι), and which certainly, sometimes at least, signifies nothing more than making use of some friendly words upon meeting with people,* must here signify something more particular, since we find some of the present inhabitants of the East seem to want this admonition of our LORD.

“When the Arabs salute one another,” according to Niebuhr, “it is generally in these terms: *Salâm aleikum, Peace be with you*; in speaking which words, they lay the right hand on the heart. The answer is, *Aleikum essalâm, With you be peace*. Aged people are inclined to add to these words, *And the mercy and blessing of God*. The Mohammedans of Egypt and Syria never salute a Christian in this manner; they content themselves with saying to them, *Good day to you*; or, *Friend, how do you do*? The Arabs of Yemen, who seldom see any Christians, are not so zealous but that sometimes they will give them the *Salâm aleikum*.”

Presently after he says, “For a long time I thought the Mohammedan custom of saluting Christians, in a different manner from that made

* Ecclesiasticus xli. 20. strongly demonstrates this: *Be ashamed—of silence before them that salute thee*.

use of to those of their own profession, was an effect of their pride, and religious bigotry. I saluted them sometimes with the *Salâm aleikum*, and I had often only the common answer. At length I observed in Natolia, that the Christians themselves might probably be the cause, that Mohammedans did not make the same return to their civilities that they did to those of their own religion. For the Greek merchants with whom I travelled in that country, did not seem pleased with my saluting Mohammedans in the Mohammedan manner. And when they were not known to be Christians, by those Turks whom they met with in their journeying, (it being allowed Christian travellers, in those provinces, to wear a white turban,* that banditti might take them at a distance for Turks, and people of courage,) they never answered those that addressed them with the compliment of *Salâm aleikum*.

“ One would not, perhaps, suspect that similar customs obtain, in our times, among Europeans: but I find that the Roman Catholics, of some provinces of Germany, never address the Protestants that live among them with the compliment, *JESUS CHRIST be praised*; and when such a thing happens by mistake, the Protestants do not return it after the manner in use among Catholics, *For ever and ever, Amen†*”!

After this, the words of our LORD, in the close

* Christians in common, being obliged to wear the sash of their turbans *white striped with blue*. Russell's Description of Aleppo, Vol. II. p. 42.

† Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 43, 44.

of the vth of Matthew want no farther commentary. The Jews would not address the usual compliment of *Peace be to you* to either heathens, or publicans; the publicans of the Jewish nation would use it to their countrymen that were publicans, but not to heathens; though the more rigid Jews would not do it to them any more than to heathens: our LORD required his disciples to lay aside the moroseness of Jews, and express more extensive benevolence in their salutations. There seems to be nothing of embracing thought of in this case, though that, doubtless, was practised anciently among relations and intimate friends, as it is among modern Asiatics.

When then the son of Sirach speaks of *silence before them that salute thee*, ch. xli. 20., as a just ground of shame, he cannot be understood to mean silence with regard to the salutations of those of another nation, for this was rather thought to be honourable among the old Jews, a proper expression of rough and inflexible virtue, and a paying a due attention to the prerogatives of the Jewish nation; it must be understood of not returning the salutations of their own countrymen; of such non-compliance with the forms of civility in use among those of their nation, he thought they ought to be ashamed.

Elisha's enjoining Gehazi not to salute any that he met, or to return the salutation of such, evidently expresses the haste he would have him make to recover the child and bring him back to life.*

* 2 Kings iv. 29. *Gird up thy loins, and take my staff in*

For the salutations of the East often take up a long time.

“ The manner of salutation, as now practised by the people of Egypt, is not less ancient. The ordinary way of saluting people, when at a distance, is bringing the hand down to the knees, and then carrying it to the stomach. Marking their devotedness to a person by holding down the hand ; as they do their affection by their after raising it up to the heart. When they come close together afterwards, they take each other by the hand in token of friendship. What is very pleasant, is to see the country-people reciprocally clapping each other’s hands very smartly, twenty or thirty times together, in meeting, without saying any thing more than *Salamat aiche halcom* ; that is to say, *How do you do ; I wish you good health*. If this form of complimenting must be acknowledged to be simple, it must be admitted to be very affectionate. Perhaps it marks out a better disposition of heart, than all the studied phrases which are in use among us, and which politeness almost always makes use of at the expence of sincerity. After this first compliment many other friendly questions are asked, about the health of the family, mentioning each of the children distinctly, whose names they know, &c.”*

If the forms of salutation among the ancient Jewish peasants took up as much time as those of

thine hand, and go thy way ; if thou meet any man, salute him not ; and if any salute thee, answer him not again, &c.

* Maillet, Descript. de l’Egypte, Let. xi. p. 137, 138.

the modern Egyptians that belong to that rank of life, it is no wonder the Prophet commanded his servant to abstain from saluting those he might meet with, when sent to recover the child of the Shunamitess to life : they that have attributed this order to haste have done right ; but they ought to have shewn the tediousness of Eastern compliments.

But I very much question whether this was the cause of our LORD's forbidding the Seventy to salute, when he sent them forth to preach the gospel, Luke x. 4., *Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes ; and salute no man by the way.* Was the not making use of shoes expressive of greater expedition in travelling ? I should rather suppose that either it signifies not saluting any in their journey, in the same sense as David saluted Nabal, 1 Sam. xxv. 5, 6, 14.,* when he applied to him for some refreshment in the wilderness, leaving it to them to whom they preached to invite them to their houses, from first to last, in this journey ; or else that it was, some how or other, a part of that meanness in which they were to appear, not to salute those they met.

Niebuhr tells us a story that is rather remarkable, relating to salutations among the Arabs of the desert of Mount Sinai : he says, that a woman who

* *David sent out ten young men, and David said to the young men . . . Go to Nabal, and greet him in my name ; after which we are informed that Abigail, Nabal's wife, was told by a servant, David sent messengers out of the wilderness to salute our master, and he railed on them.*

was on foot (and therefore seemed to be a person in low life) meeting him in a strait passage in the valley of Génne, she sat down by the side of the way, turning her back till they were past; but as he wished this woman peace, (which is their form of salutation,) and his Arab guides perceived by that he was not acquainted with their customs, they informed him that it was out of respect to strangers that she had turned her back; and that, according to their usages, he should not have saluted her at all.*

His saluting her was, it seems, contrary to their usages; on what account is not perfectly clear: if it was on account of a supposed great disproportion of rank, our LORD might command them to assume this among other expressions of meanness, in opposition to those appearances of worldly grandeur the Jews expected to see, whenever the kingdom of God came—the kingdom of the Messiah.†

* Voy. Tom. I. p. 192. In the same place Niebuhr observes that they had just before met an Arab lady riding on a camel, accompanied by one domestic, who, in order to testify her respect for the Sheikhs who accompanied him, rode out of the path, then alighted from her camel, and passed by them on foot.—EDIT.

† Luke x. 11.

OBSERVATION XV.

Particular Kinds of Salutations.

THE Eastern salutations differ considerably, according to the difference of rank of the persons they salute.

“The common salutation,” Sandys says,* “is laying the right-hand on the bosom, and a little declining their bodies; but when they salute a person of great rank, they bow almost to the ground, and kiss the hem of his garment.” Egmont and Heyman, agreeably to this, tell us,† that two Greek noblemen that introduced them to the exiled Cham of Tartary, who resided at Scio, kissed his robe at their entrance, and that they took their leave of him with the same ceremonies; and Dr. Pococke remarks,‡ that when he attended the English Consul on a visit of ceremony which he made the Pasha of Tripoli, upon his return from meeting the Mecca caravan, the two Dragomen (or interpreters of the Consul) kissed the Pasha’s garment, and put it to their foreheads, as soon as he was seated, when he granted a request that was made, and when they went away.§ Pitts, le Bruyn, and Theve-

* P. 50.

+ Vol. I. p. 258.

‡ Vol. III. p. 237.

§ When then some Commentators tell us, *the ten men’s taking hold of the skirt of him that was a Jew*, Zech. viii. 23., is to be considered as a gesture of entreating friendly assistance, they seem to be under a mistake; it is rather to be understood as an application of a most submissive kind, to be taken under his protection, or received among his dependants. Such an ex-

not,* agree with Sandys also in the accounts they give of the common salutation. Which compliment the last-mentioned author tells us, he saw the Grand Seignior himself pay the people : when he rode through the streets of Constantinople in great state, “ He saluted all the people, having his right-hand constantly on his breast, bowing first to one side, and then to the other ; and the people with a low and respectful voice wished him all happiness and prosperity.”† This form of salutation then between equals is what superiors also sometimes use to those that are much below them.

Shaw’s account of the Arab compliment, *Peace be unto you*, or common salutation, agrees with what has been mentioned ; but he farther tells us, that inferiors, out of deference and respect, kiss the feet, the knees, or the garments of their superiors ;‡ he might have added, or the hands ; for d’Arvieux tells us, that though the Arab emir he visited withdrew his hand when he offered to kiss it, he frequently offered it to people to kiss when he had a mind to oblige them to do him that homage.§ They are not, however, expressions of equal submission : the kissing the hand is not planation of this gesture perfectly suits the interpretation of those, that suppose these words point out those accessions to the Jewish church and nation, under the Asmonæan princes, when several tribes of the Gentile world submitted to be circumcised, and were incorporated with the Jews. Of these, the Idumæans were the most celebrated ; but there were others that thus united themselves with the Jewish nation.

* Pitts, p. 66. Le Bruyn, Tom. I. page 422. Thevenot, p. 30.

† Part I. p. 87. ‡ P. 237. § Voy. dans la Pal. p. 8.

only apparently less lowly than that of the feet ; but d'Arvieux expressly tells us so in another passage,* where he says the women that wait on the Arab princesses kiss their hands, when they do them the favour not to suffer them to kiss their feet, or the border of their robe.

Dr. Shaw observes, that in these respects the Arabs were just the same two or three thousand years ago as they are now : and ceremonies of the like kind, we may believe, were used anciently among the neighbouring people too, as they are at this time. So our LORD represents a servant as falling down at his master's feet when he had a favour to beg ; and an inferior servant as paying the same compliment to the first, who was, it seems, a servant of a higher class, Matt. xviii. 26, 29. In like manner the Evangelist Luke tells us, that Jairus fell down at our LORD's feet, when he begged he would go and heal his daughter, chap. viii. 41. ; that St. Peter fell at the knees of JESUS, after the present Arab mode, I presume, chap. v. 8. ; and he represents the woman, troubled with the issue of blood, as touching the hem of his garment, which, I suppose, means kissing it, Luke viii. 44. The other inhabitants of that country, we find, used the same ceremonies : so the Syro-Phœnician woman fell at our LORD's feet, Mark vii. 25, 26. ; not to mention the instances of remoter antiquity in the Old Testament.

It is agreed, that there is something very graceful and noble in the forms of Eastern salutation ; †

* P. 252. † See Rauwolff, p. 42. Pococke, Vol. I. p. 182.

some of them however have appeared too low, and expressive of too much disproportion. The natives of the West therefore, even when they have been in these Eastern countries, have not been wont to adopt these profound expressions of respect. So Conon the Athenian, on account of that kind of adoration the kings of Persia exacted of every one that came into their presence, which the next citation will explain, declined personal converse with that prince, and chose to transact his business with him by writing; not, he said, that he was himself unwilling to pay any kind of honour to the king, but because he thought it might be a disgrace to the state to which he belonged, if he should rather observe, on this occasion, the usage of those they call Barbarians, than the forms of his countrymen.*

They however sometimes seem to have thought these expressions of reverence too great for mortals; at least they sometimes spoke of them in that strain: so Curtius tells us,† that Alexander thought the habit and manners of the Macedonian kings unequal to his greatness, after the conquest of Asia; and was for being treated according to the modes of Persia, where kings were revered after the manner of the gods: he therefore suffered people, in token of their respect, to lie upon the ground before him, &c.

This was enough to lead St. Peter to say to Cornelius, a Roman, who received him with a reverence esteemed the lowest and most submissive,

* Corn. Nep. in Vitâ Con.

† Lib. vi. cap. 6.

even in the ceremonious East, and which the Romans were wont to speak of as too solemn to be paid to mere men, *Stand up; I myself also am a man*, Acts x. 26.; though Cornelius intended nothing idolatrous; nor did St. Peter suppose he did. In truth, there was something extraordinary in this prostration of Cornelius, but without any thing of idolatry. He was a person of rank: St. Peter made no figure in civil life; yet Cornelius received him not only with respect, but as his superior: not only as his superior, but with the greatest degree of reverence; not only with the greatest degree of reverence, according to the usages of his own nation, but with an expression of veneration, which, though common in the country where Cornelius then resided, his countrymen were ready to say ought to be appropriated to those that were more than men. But it seems he felt the greatest degree of reverence and awe at the sight of the Apostle; and those emotions threw him into the attitude he had frequently seen the inhabitants of Syria put themselves in, when they would express the greatest respect; the rather as the Apostle was a native of that country.

The case of St. John's throwing himself at the feet of the angel,* is to be viewed in a somewhat different light. St. John did nothing at all but what was conformable to the usages of his own country, when the people of it designed innocently to express great reverence and gratitude. It is astonishing then that so many learned men should

* Rev. xix. 10., and ch. xxii. 8.

have looked upon it as an idolatrous prostration. Nothing however is more certain than this fact : and it has been thus understood, not only by controversial writers, when disputing with heat against their antagonists ; but by the more cool and dispassionate commentators. That they should not at all consider the Eastern usages, is no wonder ; they have been in common most unhappily neglected : but the attempt of the Apostle to repeat the prostration, (for he would have done it a second time,) sufficiently shewed that the Apostle did not think the angel rejected it as an idolatrous piece of respect. What a strange interpretation must that be, which supposes St. John, a Jew by descent, a mortal enemy, in consequence by birth, to all idolatry ; a zealous preacher against it, through a very long life ; who finished one of his epistles with these very words, *Little children, keep yourselves from idols*, as desirous to have this perpetually fixed on their memories, whatever else they forgot ; should, when suffering in Patmos for the LORD JESUS, and when blessed with the influence of the prophetic Spirit, attempt to do an idolatrous action, and to repeat that attempt in opposition to the checks of his celestial Teacher ! Nothing sure can be more inconceivable. At the same time nothing is easier than the true interpretation. Struck with veneration for his angelic instructor, and full of gratitude towards him for what he had shewn him, he fell, according to the custom of his nation, at his feet to do him reverence : *See thou do it not*, said the angel ; it is not to me these thanks are due ; I have in this bee

only fulfilling the orders of Him who is my LORD as well as yours ; *worship* GOD, therefore, to whom in justice you ought to ascribe these illuminations. Beauteous was this turning away of the angel from him in the Apostle's eyes ; and from the additional force of this graceful action, as well as from a lively sense, that though honours are ultimately due to God, as the original Author of every good gift, and in particular of intellectual lights,* yet that it was to express a reverence too to them that are the instruments of conveying them to us. St. John, upon some farther revelation of the angel, would have again thrown himself at his feet ; but found the angel persevering in that most amiable and devout modesty—*worship* GOD.

OBSERVATION XVI.

Farther Considerations on the same Subject.

THEVENOT remarked, in the passage I cited under the last Observation, that the people of Constantinople wished the Grand Seignior, when he saluted them as he rode through their streets, happiness and prosperity, with a low and respectful voice. I do not however apprehend, that the customs of the East, with respect to the manner of doing persons honour there, are changed, though we read, that when our LORD entered with something of state into Jerusalem, they cried,

* James i. 17.

Hosanna to the Son of David; blessed he He that cometh in the name of the LORD! Hosanna in the highest! Matt. xxi. 9.; and that when Solomon was brought up from Gihon, after having received the regal unction, *The people rejoiced with great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound of them,* 1 Kings i. 40.: since these were not the sounds of salutation, but the cries of people at some distance from Solomon, and from our LORD, dispersedly expressing their triumph.

So we find in Maillet, that when there is any rain at Cairo, it is so extraordinary, and at the same time so exquisitely grateful, that the children run about the streets with *cries of joy*;* and that when the only son of that magnificent person, who was the Bashaw of Egypt in 1696, was passing along in a grand procession, in order to be circumcised, the way was all strewed with flowers, and the air rung with acclamations and cries of joy.† This was among a people that would doubtless have *saluted* a prince as he passed along, in the same manner in which the people of Constantinople saluted their Sultan, with a *low and respectful voice*. This difference is to be attended to, as it serves to determine that what was said when our LORD entered Jerusalem, was the expression of gratulation and triumph, not a *salutation* or speaking to him.

* Let. i. p. 17.

† Let. x. p. 78.

OBSERVATION XVII.

Salutation both by Attitude and Expression.

THE excellence of Eastern salutations consists not merely in the attitudes into which they put themselves, but in the expressions they make use of, which have frequently something very devout, and very sublime in them.

God be gracious unto thee, my son, were the words with which Joseph received Benjamin, Gen. xliii. 29. This would have been called through all Europe, and the living languages of this part of the world, the giving a person one's benediction, says Sir J. Chardin in his MS.; but it is a simple salutation in Asia, and is there used instead of those offers and assurances of service which it is the custom to make use of in the West, in first addressing or taking leave of an acquaintance. It cannot easily be believed how eloquent the people of the East of all religions are in wishing good, and the mercies of God to one another; upon all occasions, and even those that scarcely know them to whom they speak; yet at the same time they are some of the worst and most double-tongued people in the world. It appears from Scripture this has always been their character. One may say of them in all ages that which David did, *They bless with their mouths, but they curse inwardly*.

How noble the expressions, as well as the pos-

tures, of Eastern salutation! but how unhappy that the tongue and the heart are at such variance! This account, however, explains the ground on which the Scriptures so often call the salutations and farewells of the East by the term *blessing*.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

Sometimes the Inferior mentions himself before the Person he intends to honour.

FULL of reverence as the Eastern addresses are, and especially of those to the great, in some points they are not so scrupulous as we are in the West. An inferior's mentioning himself before he names his superior is an instance of this kind.

Every body knows in how odious a light Cardinal Wolsey's naming himself before his king, *Ego et Rex meus*, appeared in England, in the sixteenth century. It was thought the most consummate arrogance; nevertheless Sir J. Chardin assures us it is customary among the Persians for the speaker to name himself first.

He mentions this in one of his MSS. as illustrating 1 Sam. xxiv. 12. *The Lord judge between me and thee*. David spoke after this manner to Saul; and that when he treated that prince with great reverence: *David stooped with his face to the earth, and bowed himself*, says the eighth verse. Gen. xxiii. 15., compared with verse 6., is another instance of it. David's mentioning himself first therefore, when speaking to Saul, marks out no

insolence in him ; it was on the contrary perfectly agreeable to the modern ceremonial of Eastern courts, at least to that of Persia.

OBSERVATION XIX.

Prostrations, and kissing the Feet, sometimes practised in the East.

I HAVE been supposing that the falling down at a person's feet signifies kissing his *feet*, which, according to Dr. Shaw, is a way of expressing respect among the present Arabs. But I am not sure that this is perfectly exact : there is an Eastern way of complimenting, not precisely the same, though very near akin to it, which very possibly may be referred to in some of those passages I mentioned. But if it should, it makes no alteration of importance : accuracy, however, requires me to take notice of it. What is more, it is necessary to the explaining some other passages.

Pabous پابوس is a Persian word, which signifies *kissing the feet*, a ceremony very ancient in Persia ; for it was instituted by its first king, as a mark, not only of the reverence to be paid kings by their subjects, but of the taking the oath of fidelity and homage by vassal or feudatory princes to their sovereigns. This ceremony was afterwards changed, as to *subjects of lower rank*, into *kissing the ground* in the presence of their princes : this the Persians, in their language, call روي زمين.

Rouee zemeen, which signifies *the face to the earth*; and that of *kissing the feet* was reserved for strangers, and subjects of the highest quality.*

It seems however that this limited use of kissing the ground, which d'Herbelot speaks of, did not always continue, since he tells us,† that Moham-med Kothbeddin, the Khouarezmian, who succeeded his father in the year of our LORD 1199, was installed in the throne of his ancestors by his great lords, who took the oath of fidelity to him, and paid him due homage. This ceremony was called in the Persian language, which the Khouarezmians made use of, *boos zemeen*, بوس زمین and *rouee zemeen*, روي زمین that is, *kissing the earth*, and *the face to the earth*; because, according to the ancient Persian custom, which continues to this day, homage was paid to their sovereign by kissing the earth, or touching it with their foreheads in their presence.

I will not attempt to cite every passage of d'Herbelot which makes mention of this ceremony; but I must by no means omit a very remarkable account relating to it,‡ in which he describes the behaviour of an Eastern prince toward his conqueror. This prince, he says, threw himself one day on the ground, and kissed the prints that his victorious enemy's horse had made there, reciting some verses in Persian which he had composed, to this effect:

* To these forms may be added, the دامن بوس دادن *damen boos daden*, to kiss the hem of the garment; a custom also among the Persians.—From the Persian noun *boos*, probably our *buss*, a kiss, is derived.—EDIT.

† P. 609.

‡ P. 436.

“ The mark that the foot of your horse has left upon the dust, serves me now for a crown.

“ The ring which I wear as the badge of my slavery, is become my richest ornament.

“ While I shall have the happiness *to kiss the dust of your feet*, I shall think that fortune favours me with its tenderest caresses, and its sweetest kisses.”

This flattery was so well received by the conqueror, who was a very vain-glorious prince, and fond of adulation, that from that time forward he would always have the unfortunate prince near him ; and he so well improved that favourable circumstance as at length to obtain his liberty, and a little after his entire re-establishment.

We may see, I think, in these fragments of oriental history, that kissing the feet and lying prostrate in the dust before a person, are not merely expressions of reverence, but also, which is not so well known, of vassalage ; and kissing the earth, of the most abject vassalage, sometimes arising from the low rank of those that paid the homage, and sometimes arising from dejection and adulation.

When then the Psalmist says, *Psa. lxxii. 8, 9. He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the end of the earth ;* he marks out extent of empire : when he adds, *they that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him*, it would be extremely wrong to suppose, he is only specifying one particular part of that extensive authority he had before expressed in general terms ; for he greatly enlarges the thought : it is equivalent to saying, “ the wild Arabs, that the greatest conqueror

could never tame, shall bow before him, or become his vassals ;” nay, his enemies, and consequently these Arabs, among the rest, “ shall lick the dust,” or court him with the most abject submissions.

Conquered princes themselves, we see in d’Herbelot, have actually prostrated themselves in the dust before their victors : and therefore the expressions of Isaiah, chap. xlix. 23., *Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers : they shall bow down to thee with their face to the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet*, are not such an extravagance of Eastern rhetoric, as we may possibly have been ready to suspect ; supposing that this licking the dust refers to kings and queens.

That great commentator Grotius,* seems to suppose that this kissing the earth by conquered kings is scarcely imaginable. Vitringa reproaches him for it ; but Vitringa † gives no instance of this sort, which certainly it would have been right for him to have done, in animadverting on an author of such fame. The citations from d’Herbelot may supply that defect : to which may be added, that it is common in the East to treat conquered princes with an insolence we can scarcely think credible ; and their submissions on the other hand are astonishing. So when Egypt was subdued by the Turks, so lately as the year 1517, the sovereign of that country was hanged over one of the gates of Cairo ; and that brutalities of much the same kind obtained in the remotest times of antiquity, may be learnt from Judges i. 7.

* In loc.

† In loc.

Hence some things required by the Prophets might be no more than just severities, and agreeable to the rules of those times, which to us appear somewhat astonishing, such as the death of Agag, and of Ben-hadad. The difference between their and our laws of war ought ever to be remembered, in explaining the Old Testament Scriptures.

OBSERVATION XX.

*Kissing the Hand, and putting it on the Head,
Tokens of Respect.*

ALL the compliments that inferiors make to superiors in the East are not, however, equally abject with those I have been mentioning. "If," says Pitts, "an inferior comes to pay his respects to a superior, he takes his superior's hand, and kisses it, afterwards putting it to his forehead. But if the superior be of a condescending temper, he will snatch away his hand as soon as the other has touched it; then the inferior puts his own fingers to his lips, and afterwards to his forehead; and sometimes the superior will also in return put his hands to his lips."*

This explains what I cited from d'Arvieux, relating to the emir's withdrawing his hand when he approached to kiss it; but, what is of more importance than this, it gives a clear account of the ground of some ancient and modern religious ceremonies.

* P. 66.

Thus Pitts has also told us, that the Mohammedans begin their worship with bringing their two thumbs together, and kissing them three times, and at every kiss touching their foreheads with their thumbs. When they cannot kiss the hand of a superior, they kiss their own, and put it to their foreheads. They venerate an unseen Being whom they cannot touch, in much the same manner.

After a like manner the ancient idolaters worshipped beings they could not touch: *If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness: and my heart hath been secretly enticed, and my mouth hath kissed my hand*, said Job, chap. xxx. 26, 27. * That this would have been an idolatrous action, has been often remarked; but I do not remember it has been any where observed, to have been exactly agreeable to the civil expressions of respect that obtain in the East.

OBSERVATION XXI.

Kissing what is presented, a Token of Respect to Superiors.

THEY kiss too what comes from the hand of a superior. So Dr. Pococke,† when he describes the

* Perhaps this custom gave rise to the term *adoration*, an act of Divine worship in which the person brought his hand to his mouth and *kissed it*, whence the Latin *adoro*, from *ad* to, and *os*, *oris*, the mouth; others may prefer *ad* and *oro*, to pray or entreat.—EDIT.

† Travels, Vol. I. p. 182. See also p. 113.

Egyptian compliments, tells us, that upon their taking any thing from the hand of a superior, or that is sent from such an one, they kiss it, and as the highest respect put it to their foreheads.

This is not peculiar to those of that country ; for the editor of the Ruins of Balbec observed, that the Arab governor of that city respectfully applied the firman of the Grand Seignior to his forehead, which was presented to him when he and his fellow-travellers first waited on him ; and then kissed it, declaring himself the Sultan's slaves's slave.*

Is not this what Pharaoh refers to in Gen. xli. 40. *Thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word, or on account of thy word, shall all my people KISS,* (for so it is in the original ;) *only in the throne will I be greater than thou:* that is, I imagine, the orders of Joseph were to be received with the greatest respect by all, and kissed by the most illustrious of the princes of Egypt.

Drusius might well deny the sense that Kimchi and Grotius put on these words, the appointing that all the people should kiss his mouth.† That would certainly be reckoned in the West, in every part of the earth, as well as in the ceremonious East, so remarkable for keeping up dignity and state, a most strange way of commanding the second man in the kingdom to be honoured. It is very strange then that these commentators should propose such a thought ; and the more so, as the

* P. 4.

† The original is *וְעַל פִּי יִשָּׁק כָּל עַמִּי* *ve al peeka yissak kol ammee* ; literally, *and upon thy mouth shall all the people kiss* : but *פִּי* *pee*, may be here used for *commandment*.—EDIT.

Hebrew word *דָּבָר* *pee* is well known to signify *word*, or *commandment*, as well as *mouth*. As this is apparent from Gen. xlv. 21.; so also that the preposition *בְּ* *ál*, often signifies *according to*, or *on account of*, is put out of the question by that passage, as well as by Sam. iv. 12., Ezra x. 9, &c.* These are determinations that establish the exposition I have been giving. *Upon thy commandment*, or when thou sendest out orders, *my people, from the highest to the lowest, shall kiss*, receiving them with the profoundest respect and obedience.

The Egyptian translators, called the Septuagint, seem to have understood Prov. xxiv. 36. in much the same sense, *Lips shall kiss those things that answer right words*, shall kiss those writings by which a judge giveth just decisions: and this seems to be a much better explanation of the passage, than any of the four which Pool has given us from the critics, in his Synopsis. The second, with which our version coincides, does not appear by any means to be just. The prefix Lamed should in that case have been joined to the word lips; not to repeat what I observed in the beginning of this article, that nothing can be more dissonant, not only from Eastern customs, but from decencies universally maintained, to suppose that it should be promised to a judge, as an honourable reward for the equity of his decisions, that every party that gained a cause should kiss his lips: no! it should rather be, he shall kiss—the hem of his garment, or even the earth at his feet. The word

† Vide Noldii Conc. in part. *בְּ* *ál*, 24.

cupit, (every man *desires* to kiss,) is indeed made use of in the Synopsis, perhaps to soften this impropriety ; but if so, it is used in vain, for an inhabitant of the East would feel no inclination to kiss the lips of a righteous judge. St. John, who found emotions of veneration, which were something like those these people are here supposed to feel, was not prompted in the least to *kiss the angel's lips* ; the effect they produced in him was *prostration at the angel's feet*. The fourth interpretation in the Synopsis, which is that of a Jewish rabbi, is one of the most childish conceits that can be easily imagined, namely, that the words of truth tally with each other, as lip with lip. The third, that a judge who pronounces a right decision does a thing as grateful as if every word were a kiss, is as apparently strained. And as to the first, it is by no means agreeable to the dignified station of a judge, and of such a one Solomon appears to be speaking, that he that pronounces a just sentence shall be admitted, not merely to kiss the hand, but even the lips, that is, shall be admitted into the strictest friendship ; unless it be understood of the king for whom he judges, which would be as degrading to the prince as the other to the judge ; so neither is it by any means conformable to the preceding words, which express the effects that just or unjust judgment should have on the people, ver. 23. *These things also belong to the wise. It is not good to have respect to persons in judgment,* ver. 24. *He that saith unto the wicked, Thou art righteous,* (that is, he that absolveth the guilty,) *him shall the people curse ; nations shall abhor him.*

ver. 25. *But to them that rebuke him, (that severely reprimand him,) shall be delight, and a good blessing shall come upon him.* He that giveth a right answer then in the next verse (the 26th) is apparently the description of a judge, that pronounces right judgments on those causes that are brought before him to try; and this kissing, agreeably to all that precedes, must refer to the people, the nation, not to the king for whom he judges. The Septuagint interpretation is much more agreeable therefore than any of the four I have recited — *Men shall kiss the righteous decrees of a just judge*, according to the Eastern forms of expressing reverence.

I do not however know whether a more unexceptionable interpretation still may not be proposed. The rescripts of authority are wont to be kissed whether they are believed to be just or not, except in cases where persons assume something of independence; nay, the letters of people of figure are treated after this manner by persons over whom they have no authority, and who know not the contents of them, merely because they are letters of people of figure;* it is possible, therefore, these words may rather refer to another Eastern custom;

* So La Roque, in his Syrian Travels, tells us, that as he and his companions drew near to Balbec, two Arab horsemen accosted them very roughly; but on being told they had a letter for the Sheikh of Balbec, which had been given them, by a Maronite Sheikh, with both of which Sheikhs these Arabs had a good understanding, they, after having looked at the letter, lifted it to their heads; and, kissing it, civilly dismissed them. Tome I. p. 94, 95.

which d'Arvieux gives an account of in his description of the Arabs of Mount Carmel, who, when they present any petition to their emir for a favour, offer their billets to him with their right hands, after having *first kissed the papers*.* The Hebrew manner of expression is short, and proverbs have peculiar shortness: *Every lip shall kiss, one maketh to return a right answer*, that is, every one shall be ready to present the state of his case, kissing it as he delivers it, when there is a judge whose decisions are celebrated for their being equitable.† So another of these apophthegms of Solomon is delivered with something of the like turn of expression, *A crown of glory the hoary head; in the way of righteousness it shall be found*: that is, the hoary head is a crown of glory, when it is found in the way of righteousness.

OBSERVATION XXII.

*Intimate Acquaintance kiss each other's Hands,
Head, or Shoulders.*

THEY that are more intimately acquainted, or of equal age and dignity, says Dr. Shaw,‡ mutually kiss the hand, the head, or shoulder of each other.

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 155.

† This is no proper translation of the original שפתים ישק sefatayim yissak mesheeb debareem necocheem. “He shall kiss the lips of him who returneth right words.” This I am afraid will not favour Mr. Harmer’s interpretation.—

EDIT.

‡ P. 237.

It is a rule with me not to repeat any of this learned author's observations on Scripture, as I suppose my curious readers acquainted with his book ; but as he has not applied this observation to any passage in the Bible, it cannot be amiss to remark, that those passages there, which speak of falling on the neck and kissing a person, seem to have a reference to this Eastern way of kissing the shoulder in an embrace.*

OBSERVATION XXIII.

Kissing the Beard a Token of Respect.

DR. SHAW takes no notice of their taking hold of the beard in order to kiss ; but Thevenot does,† saying, that among the Turks it is a great affront to take one by the beard, unless it be to kiss him, in which case they often do it.

Whether he means by kissing him, kissing his beard, or not, I do not know ; but Joab's taking Amasa by the beard to kiss him, 2 Sam. xx. 9., seems to be designed to express his taking his beard to kiss it ; at least this is agreeable to the customs of those that now live in that country : for d'Arvieux,‡ describing the assembling together of several of the petty Arab princes at an entertainment, tells us, that “All the emirs came just together a little time after, accompanied by their

* Gen. xxxiii. 4., ch. xlv. 14, 11., Acts xx. 17., Luke xv. 20.

† Part i. p. 30.

‡ Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, p. 71.

friends and attendants ; and, after the usual civilities, caresses, kissings of the beard, and of the hand, which every one gave and received according to his hand and dignity, they sat down upon mats."

He elsewhere* speaks of the women's kissing their husbands'† beards, and children those of their fathers, and friends reciprocally saluting one another in this manner ; but the doing it by their emirs more exactly answers this history of Joab and Amasa ; and in this stooping posture he could much better see to direct the blow, than if he had only held his beard, and raised himself to kiss his face.

OBSERVATION XXIV.

Beards held in high Estimation in the East.

THE indignity, on the other hand, offered to David's ambassadors by Hanun, might perhaps be better illustrated by what the same author tells us of the present usages of the inhabitants of this country, than by those examples that Bishop Pa-

* P. 144. 148.

† The wives in that country are held in such submission, that it is reasonable to think, their caresses are mingled with more humiliating marks of respect than kissing the beard : the Psalmist seems to suppose so, when he says, (Psa. xlv. 11.) *So shall the king greatly desire thy beauty : for he is thy lord, and worship thou him.* On which the manuscript I have so often quoted observes, that this alludes to the great respect and submission of women towards their husbands in these countries.

trick has brought from more distant nations; and in particular from the Indians and the Germans.

It is a greater mark of infamy, he assures us, among the Arabs that he visited, to cut off any one's beard, than whipping and branding with the flower-de-luce among the French.* Many people in that country, he tells us, would prefer death to this kind of punishment.

And as they would think it a grievous punishment to lose it, so they carry things so far, to beg for the sake of it: "by your beard, by the life of your beard, do." In like manner some of their benedictions are, "God preserve your blessed beard: God pour his blessings on your beard." And when they would express their value for any thing, they say, "It is worth more than his beard."†

I never had so clear an apprehension, I must confess, as after I have read these accounts, of the intended energy of that thought of Ezekiel, where the inhabitants of Jerusalem are compared to the hair of the Prophet's head and beard.‡ That

* *Mos enim est Orientalibus, tam Græcis quam aliis nationibus, barbas totâ curâ & omni solitudine nutrire: pro summoque probo & majori quæ unquam irrogari possit ignomia reputare, si vel unus pilus quocunque sibi de casu barba cum injuriâ detrahatur*, says William of Tyre, an Eastern archbishop, *Gesta Dei*, p. 802.

† Ch. 7.

The Mohammedans have a very great respect for their beards, and think it criminal to shave: conversing one day with a Turk who was playing with his beard, I asked him, "Why do you not cut off your beard as we (Europeans) do?" To which he replied, with great emotion, "Cut off my beard!—Why should I?—God forbid!"—EDIT.

‡ Ezek. v.

passage seems to signify, that though the inhabitants of Jerusalem had been dear to God as the hair of an Eastern beard to its owner, yet that they should be taken away and consumed, one part by pestilence and famine, another part by the sword, and the third by the calamities of an exile.

Niebuhr* has given us an account of a modern Arab prince's treating a Persian envoy, in the same manner as Hanun treated the beards of David's ambassadors, which brought a powerful Persian army upon him in 1765; but it seems he was a very brutal prince, and bore a most detestable character.

OBSERVATION XXV.

Kissing the Hand a Token of Reverence.

OUR LORD reproaches the Pharisee who invited him to eat bread, Luke vii. that he had given him no kiss, whereas the person he had been censuring in his heart had not ceased kissing his feet from her entrance into the house. It is visible, by the contrast our LORD here supposes, between the woman's kisses and the compliment he had reason to expect from the Pharisee, that he did not look for his kissing his feet, but for some other salutation: but what? not the kisses of equality most certainly, but rather that kissing the hand,

* P. 275.

which marks out reverence,* the reverence that is customarily paid in the East to those of a sacred character, and which, contrary to the rules of decorum, he had omitted.

So Norden tells us,† that a Copti priest, whom they carried in their bark from the neighbourhood of Cairo a considerable way up the Nile, carried it pretty high, insomuch that he dared to tell them, more than once, that he could not take them for Christians, since not one of their company had offered to kiss his hands: whereas the Copti ran every day in crowds round him, to shew their respect by such marks of submission.

And at Saphet in Galilee, where the Jews have a sort of university, Dr. Pococke saw the inferior rabbies complimenting the chief on the day of Pentecost, who was very decently habited in white satin, by coming with great reverence, and kissing his hand.*

* This may be thought not very well to agree with a preceding Observation, in which kissing the hand is supposed to be a compliment that passes between equals: but it is to be remembered, that there these kisses were supposed to be mutually given, and such an exchange marks out equality; here the person revered is described as receiving a kiss on his hand, but not as returning it. This is a considerable difference.

† Part II. p. 35, 36. ‡ Vol. II. p. 76.

OBSERVATION XXVI.

Dismounting, a Token of Respect.

THE *alighting* of those that ride is considered in the East as an expression of *deep respect*; so Dr. Pococke tells us, that they are wont to descend from their asses in Egypt, when they come near some tombs there, and that Christians and Jews are obliged to submit to this.*

So Hasselquist tells Linnæus, in one of his letters to him, that Christians were obliged to alight from their asses in Egypt, when they met with commanders of the soldiers there.† This he complains of as a bitter indignity; but they that received the compliment, without doubt, required it as a most pleasing piece of respect.

Achsah's and Abigail's alighting‡ were without doubt then intended as expressions of reverence. But is it to be imagined, that Naaman's alighting from his chariot,§ when Gehazi ran after him, arose from the same principle? If it did, there was a mighty change in this haughty Syrian after his cure.

That *he* should pay such a reverence to a servant of the Prophet must appear very surprising; yet we can hardly think the historian would have mentioned this circumstance *so very distinctly* in any other view.

* Vol. I. p. 35.

† P. 425.

‡ Judg. i. 14., 1 Sam. xxv. 23.

§ 2 Kings v. 21.

Rebecca's alighting from the camel on which she rode, when Isaac came to meet her, is by no means any proof that the considering this as an expression of reverence, is a modern thing in the East; it, on the contrary, strongly reminds one of d'Arvieux's account, of a bride's *throwing herself at the feet of the bridegroom* when solemnly presented to him, which obtains among the Arabs.*

OBSERVATION XXVII.

Christians in Egypt obliged to alight, when a Turk passes by.

It is undoubtedly true, that the *alighting from a beast* on which one is riding, is, and was anciently, a mark of great respect. The case however of Achsah, I believe, is to be differently understood. Of these matters some account ought here to be given.

We met a Turk, says Dr. Richard Chandler in his *Asiatic Travels*,† “a person of distinction, as appeared from his turban. He was on horseback with a single attendant. Our janizary and Armenians respectfully alighted, and made him a profound obeisance, the former kissing the rim of his garment.”

So Niebuhr tells us, that at Kahira (Grand Cairo) “the Jews and Christians who, it may be, alighted at first through fear or respect, when a Moham-

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 225.

† P. 200.

medan with a great train on horseback met them, are now obliged to pay this compliment to above thirty of the principal people of that city. When these appear in public, they always cause a domestic to go before to give notice to the Jews and Greeks, and even the Europeans that they meet with, to get off their asses as soon as possible ; and they are qualified on occasion to force them with a great club, which they always carry in their hands.”*

The fact is certain, but, probably, is not applicable to the case of Achsah. Our translators suppose that like Abigail she alighted from her ass, when she preferred her request to Caleb her father, begging for the addition of some springs of water to her portion ; but it is quite a different word, never used but in reciting her story, excepting once in the book of Judges, where it is used to express Jael’s fastening one of the pins of her tent in the ground, after having driven it through Sisera’s temples.† The word then seems to signify her continuing upon the ass standing still, as if fastened to the ground. This would naturally occasion Caleb to enquire into the reason of this stop in the marriage procession ; and brought on an explanation, which terminated in her obtaining what she desired.

* Description de l’Arabie, p. 39.

† The original word is צנח *tsanach*, and is found Josh. xv. 18. and iv. 21. Buxtorf translates it by *infigi*, *desilire*, to be infixed or stuck in—to leap off. In the case of Achsah, Judg. i. 14., Montanus renders מעל החמור וצנח meal achamor : *Et defixit se desuper asino*. And she unfastened herself from her ass. The particle מעל meal, sufficiently shews, she got off, or alighted.—EDIT.

Both the Septuagint and the Vulgar Latin suppose she continued sitting on her ass; the first suppose she *cried* to her father for this favour;* the second that she *sighed*:† but the original mentions neither; nor do either appear necessary. The mere stopping in so solemn a cavalcade as this, which seems to have been the conveying her with pomp to Othniel's house as his bride, must have been sufficient to occasion the enquiry.

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

Different Postures indicating Respect.

AFTER the ceremonies of reception, it is natural to consider those postures of longer continuance by which state or inferiority are expressed; for neither the one nor the other are forgotten through the whole visit, in the East.

Dr. Pococke, in his first volume,‡ has given us the figure of a person half sitting and half kneeling, that is, kneeling so as to rest the most muscular part of his body on his heels: this, he observes§, is the manner in which inferior persons sit at this day before great men; and that it is considered as a very humble posture. Agreeably to this he informs us, in his second volume,|| that the attendants of the English consul, when he waited on the Caia of the Pasha of Tripoli, sat in this manner,

* ΕΒΟΗΣΕΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΟΥΧΩ.

† Cum *suspirasset* sedens in asino.

‡ P. 213.

§ Vol. I., p. 213, Vol. II., p. 102.

|| P. 102.

resting behind on their hams. Mr. Drummond gives a similar account.*

In this manner, I suppose, it was that David sat before the LORD, when he went into the sanctuary to bless him for his promise concerning his family. Abarbanel, and some Christian expositors,† seem to be perplexed about the word *sitting before the LORD*; but sitting, after this manner, was expressive of the greatest humiliation, and therefore no improper posture for one that appeared before the ark of God.

Dr. Delaney, in his Life of king David, has given us this thought; I therefore only cite these passages of Bishop Pococke farther to illustrate, and confirm it.

OBSERVATION XXIX.

Seating a Person on a Cushion, a Token of Respect.

SITTING on a cushion is, on the contrary, an expression of honour; and the preparing a seat for a person of distinction seems to mean, laying things of this kind, on a place where such an one is to sit.

“It is the custom of Asia,” Sir J. Chardin informs us in his MS., “for persons in common not to go into the shops of that country, which are mostly small; but there are wooden seats, on the outside, where people sit down; and if it happens to be a

* P. 190.

† See Patrick on 1 Sam. vii. 28.

man of quality, they lay a cushion there." He also informs us, "that people of quality cause carpets and cushions to be carried every where, that they like, in order to repose themselves upon them more agreeably."

When Job speaks of his preparing his seat, ch. xxix. 7., it is extremely natural to understand him of his sending his servants to lay a cushion and a carpet on one of the public seats there, or something of that sort, as Sir John supposes; but I do not imagine a seat in the street, means a seat by a shop. Job is speaking evidently of his sitting there as a ruler among his people.

Eli's seat, by the way-side,* was a seat adorned, we may believe, after the same manner. He did not sit in a manner unbecoming so dignified a personage.

OBSERVATION XXX.

Sitting in the Corner, a Token of Superiority.

SITTING in the corner is, more particularly, a stately attitude, and expressive of superiority.

So Dr. Pococke tells us in the last cited place, that at that visit which the English consul made to the Pasha of Tripoli, the Pasha having on the garment of ceremony, gave the welcome as he passed, and sat down cross-legged in the corner to the right, having a cushion on each side, and one over them behind him. In like manner he tells us, in his first volume, that when he was introduced

* 1 Sam. iv. 13.

to the Sheikh of Furshout, he found him sitting in the corner of his room by a pan of coals.* He describes there, another Arab Sheikh as sitting in the corner of a large green tent, pitched in the middle of an encampment of Arabs; and the Bey of Girge as placed on a sofa in the corner (to the right as one entered,) of his tent.†

This is enough to satisfy us that the place of honour among them is the *corner*, had we not been expressly told so by other travellers,‡ and had not Pococke elsewhere told us that it is the position in which great men usually place themselves.§ Other authors have mentioned this circumstance in general; and it has been so universal, that Lord Whitworth assures us, that among the Russians, (who lately had many Eastern customs among them,) they were wont to place the picture of their guardian-saint in the corner of their rooms.

May not this circumstance serve to explain a passage which has greatly embarrassed commentators? *As the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs or a piece of an ear; so shall the children of Israel be taken out that dwell in Samaria, in the corner of a bed, and in Damascus in a couch.*|| The various remarks of critics on this circumstance of dwelling in Samaria in the corner of a bed, collected by Pool in his Synopsis, only serve to shew, that none of the authors he consulted could divine what was meant by it; but the

* P. 85.

† Vol. I. p. 90, and p. 124.

‡ Hanway, Vol. III. p. 145, Note; and Russell, if I remember right.

§ Vol. I. p. 179.

|| Amos iii. 12.

observing, that the most honourable place of their divans is the *corner*, gives this easy comment on this part of the verse, that just as a shepherd is oftentimes able to save, from the jaws of a devouring lion, no more than some small piece of the sheep that beast had carried off; so an adversary round about the land of Israel, should spoil its palaces, and scarcely any part of it should be recovered, out of that adversary's hand, more than the city that sits among the cities of Israel as *in the corner of a bed*, in the most honourable place; that is, as Samaria undoubtedly did, being looked upon as the royal city.

But to engage the acquiescence of the mind more perfectly in this explanation, it will be requisite to shew, that the Hebrew word מטה *mittah*, which is here translated *bed*, may be understood of a divan, which is described by Dr. Russell, as “a part of a room raised above the floor——spread with a carpet in winter, in summer with fine mats: along the sides, he says, are thick mattresses about three feet wide, covered commonly with scarlet cloth; and large bolsters of brocade, hard stuffed with cotton, are set against the walls, (or rails, when so situated as not to touch the wall,) for the conveniency of leaning.—As they use no chairs, it is upon these they sit; and all their rooms are so furnished.”* This description is perfectly conformable to those of other authors, who agree that on these they take their repasts, that on these they sleep, and that they are very capacious. The

* Russell, Vol. I. p. 27—30.

word *mittah* sometimes, it is certain, signifies a small floored moveable elevation : it does so, 2 Sam. iii. 31., where we translate it *bier* ; but nothing makes it necessary to suppose it always signifies such a small moveable thing ; it may, for any thing that appears to the contrary, signify the same sort of conveniency that is called at Aleppo a *divan*. They are now used with great universality through the East ; and we know the people of those countries are very tenacious of old customs ; this therefore, probably, is an ancient one. On the *mittah* they used to sit to eat, as well as to sleep, as we learn from 1 Sam. xxviii. 23., Amos vi. 4., Esth. i. 6., and ch. vii. 8. ; and the last place shews, that the ancient Eastern *mittah* was much larger than the beds the old Greeks and Romans used in their repasts, since Haman went up, and prostrated himself before queen Esther, on the *mittah* where she was sitting, which it cannot be imagined he would have thought of doing, had the old Eastern *mittah* been like a Greek or Roman bed ; he would rather have kneeled on the floor, or prostrated himself upon it, and kissed the hem of her robe, which he could not do, seated as she was near the corner of a large Eastern *mittah*, without going up upon it ; which accordingly he did, in order to beg for his life. So Dr. Pococke tells us,* that not only the English consul went up the sofa, when he went to make a visit to the Caia of the Pasha of Tripoli, but that those who attended the consul went up the sofa too, (which is the same thing with what

* Vol. II. p. 102.

is called a divan at Aleppo,) though they placed themselves there in the humble posture of kneeling so as to rest on their hams.*

The stately bed on which Abolibah is represented as sitting, Ezek. xxiii. 41., seems to mean the floor of an Idol-temple : for on the floors of such places, it appears by another Prophet,† they used to lie down on clothes, or carpets ; and the going up to them by steps‡ made them very much resemble the ancient Eastern *mittahs*.

These observations may be sufficient to give us the meaning of the Prophet in general, when he speaks of Israel as dwelling in 'Samaria, *in the corner of a bed* ; and perhaps the explanation of this first clause may serve to lead us into the sense of the other, which our translators have rendered, "in Damascus in a couch," in the body of their version, and in the margin, on the bed's feet. I cannot suppose the word in the original is to be considered as a proper name, and to be translated Damascus, because Israel did not, that I know of, dwell in any numbers at Damascus, though there

* La Roque's description of the saloon in which he dined with the Sheikh of Balbec may illustrate this part of the story of Haman. This saloon, he tells us, had a sofa covered with a Persian carpet, and had great cushions of crimson velvet, adorned with gold fringe and lace ; and another sofa opposite to it, differently ornamented, on which, says he, we eat, seated on carpets, after the manner of the Eastern people. *Voy. de Syrie, &c.* p. 101. Here were two divans in the same apartment ; and in like manner, I presume, there were two where Esther made her banquet of wine, on one of which the queen sat, while Haman was on the other, from whence he arose ; and, going up the queen's *mittah*, threw himself at her feet.

† Amos ii. 8.

‡ Shaw, p. 209.

was a very good understanding between the two kingdoms of Samaria and Damascus in those times, to which the prophecy refers, as may be seen, Isa. vii. 2. Nor can I by any means admit the marginal translation, the *bed's feet*, which one would imagine must signify the very reverse of the preceding sentence, and mark out the lowest place.

Pagnin supposes the words are to be translated, “and in the corner of a couch,” and so it would be a sort of repetition of the preceding thought in other terms; but there may be objections to this interpretation. In the mean while it appears most natural to me, upon a collation of the passages where the word *כרם* *âres* occurs, not to understand it as signifying *the diminutive of a mittah—a couch*; but the *furniture* of an Eastern divan: and so where these two words are joined together, they are not to be considered as an Oriental repetition, but as an agreeable diversification of the thought. So Psalm vi. 6., *I am weary with my groaning; all the night I make my bed to swim*, (the divan on which I am placed:) *I water my couch*, (or the divan furniture) *with my tears*.

Mattresses, or something of that kind, must have been used without doubt for sleeping on in those times; and it appears from Amos ii. 8., that the Israelites used carpets, or something of that sort, in their feasts, as the Eastern people do now.*

* Both seem to be referred to Acts ix. 34. *Peter said unto him, Eneas, Jesus Christ maketh thee whole: arise, and make thy bed*, or rather, *arise and prepare for thyself*, ἀναστῆθι, καὶ στήρωσον σεαυτῷ, for the reception of company at thy house. The words cannot well be understood to mean *make thy bed*.

This furniture, I presume, is to be understood by the term *âres*, which we translate couch. Perhaps Deut. iii. 11., where an *âres* is said to be of iron, may be thought to overthrow this ; but it does not

Was the mercy granted Eneas so imperfect, as that he could only arise and make his bed, and immediately take to it again ? If he recovered lasting health, why was he directed to prepare his bed for lying down again ? The Eastern people now do not keep their beds made ; the mattresses, &c. are rolled up, carried away, and placed in cupboards till they are wanted at night. The translation of our text by no means agrees with modern Oriental usages, unless we suppose the mercy was only momentary ; a thought by no means admissible. On the other hand, the Jews of the apostolic age seem to have prepared their rooms for the reception of guests, by spreading them with mats, carpets, or something of that kind : the words used by the Evangelists, to express the making ready an upper chamber, for the reception of people to eat the Passover, Mark xiv. 15. and Luke xxii. 12., is the same with that addressed to Eneas, *a large upper chamber spread and prepared*, ἀνωγειον μέγα ἐσρωμμενον. They also that received mercies sometimes entertained the Prophets that had healed them, and their attendants : *so a feast was made at Bethany where Lazarus was, who had been dead, for Jesus and his disciples*, John xii. 1, 2. Sometimes they were invited to eat bread where some of the family were ill ; and the sick being healed, did, in some cases, afterward minister to them : such were the circumstances attending the healing of Peter's wife's mother, Mark i. 29—31. Something like this was the case, I apprehend, at Lydda : Peter and those with him were invited to eat bread at the house of Eneas. *Arise*, said the Apostle to him upon his entering into the house, *spread thy house thyself for the reception of thy guests ;* and in that view the words are as noble, as, when people were brought from home in a bed, the saying to them, *Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house*. In which address the comparative lightness and moveableness of Eastern beds are pointed out, which, as Sir J. Chardin tells us, in his MS. note on Matt. ix. 6., have only a quilt to lay over them, and another under them.

appear to me to do so by any means: the using furniture for a mittah, full of small pieces of iron like a coat of mail, may surely impress the mind with as strong an idea of the martial roughness of that gigantic prince, as the having a bedstead made of iron instead of wood, or ivory, or of silver.

If this sense of the word *âres* be admitted, this clause, to answer the preceding, must signify in general the richest furniture of a divan, appropriated to persons of the greatest distinction.

Nor will there be any great difficulty in the term that is made use of, if we suppose the word Damascus may mean something *made at Damascus*, and that that city anciently gave its name to some of its works, as it has certainly done in later times, some of our richest silks being from thence called damasks. That the word may signify some costly works made at Damascus, the learned Castelio supposes, and Gen. xv. 2. sufficiently proves, where the steward of Abraham's house is said to be this Damascus Eliezer, that is, this man of Damascus, Eliezer; if it may signify a man of Damascus, it may equally well signify a manufacture of Damascus.* It is certain that the Prophet Ezekiel, who lived not very long after the time of Amos, represents Damascus as a place of trade, and in parti-

Dr. Russell's account, (Vol. I. p. 144,) differs very little. Their beds consist of a mattress laid on the floor, and over this a sheet, (in winter a carpet, or some such woollen covering,) the other sheet being sewed to the quilt. A divan cushion often serves for a pillow and bolster.

* Hence from *Damietta*, comes our word *dimity*; and from *Worsted* in Norfolk, the yarn and cloth so called.—EDIT.

cular as trafficking in wine, and what we translate *white wool*, Ezek. xxvii. 18., but which may equally well be understood to mean woollen fit for the use of nobles. For the word צמר *tsemar*, here translated *wool*, appears to be used Ezek. xlv. 17. for wool wrought up, or woollen cloth: and the word צרר *tsachar*, which is translated *white*, is used but once more in the Old Testament, and that is Judges v. 10., *Speak ye that ride on white asses, ye that sit in judgment, &c.* where every one sees that the riding on white asses is a description of nobles and princes. These asses are not, I presume, called white on account of their natural colour, but rather from their caparisons, according to the custom which continues among the Arabs to this day,* who use saddles of wood in riding, and have always, as a part of their riding furniture, a cloth which they call the *hiran*, about six ells long, which they fold up and put upon the wooden saddle, in order to sit with greater ease; and which they use when they bait, as a sort of mattress to repose themselves upon.

The result of the whole is, that Amos is to be understood as saying, as a shepherd saves a small portion of a sheep, or a goat, out of the jaws of a lion; so, though the rest of the country shall be

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 127. Dandini, on the contrary, affirms that the Eastern people ride their horses without bridle or saddle, stirrup, or spurs; a halter suffices them, with a little clout spread upon the back of the beast, ch. v. Perhaps the saddling beasts for riding, mentioned in many places in the sacred writers, may sometimes mean nothing more than the placing the *hiran* on their backs.

miserably destroyed, they shall escape that sit (or dwell) in Samaria in the corner of the divan, on the damask mattress ; the royal and most beautified of all the cities of Israel.

There is another passage which may be illustrated by the same custom, Neh. ix. 22., *Moreover thou gavest them kingdoms and nations, and didst divide them into corners.* Upon which verse Bishop Patrick gives us this note, "Some translate the last words, thou didst divide them by angles, that is, he parted those kingdoms among them as by a line." But others understand it of the people dispossessed by the Jews, whom he drove into corners. "I believe most people will be disposed to think the first thought the Bishop gives us somewhat forced ; nor will the second appear very natural to those that read the original, where the word is in the singular, *thou didst divide them to the corner*, that is, according to the explanation I have been giving of that place in Amos, *thou didst give Sihon and Og into their hands, and the various tribes of the Canaanites ; and not only so, but didst give the pre-eminence to Israel, and make them chief among the nations round about them.** It may not perhaps be disagreeable to add, that the word חִלָּק *chilak*, there translated *divide*, is used to express David's appointing the sons of Aaron to their different charges, though a different English word is used in our version.

* 1 Chron. xxiv. 3.

OBSERVATION XXXI.

Different Kinds of Perfumes used at the Close of Friendly Visits.

At the close of a visit in these countries, it is common to sprinkle rose-water, or some other sweet-scented water, on the guests, and to perfume them with aloes-wood, which is brought last, and serves as a sign that it is time for a stranger to take his leave.

Great numbers of authors take notice of this part of Eastern complaisance ; but some are much more particular and distinct than others. Maundrell, for instance, who gives a most entertaining account* of the ceremony of burning odours under the chin, does not mention any thing of the sprinkling sweet-scented waters ; however many other writers do ; and Dr. Pococke has given us the figure of the vessel they make use of upon this occasion, in his first volume.† They are both then used in the East ; but if one is spoken of more than the other, it is, I think, the perfuming persons with odoriferous smoke.

The Scriptures in like manner speak of perfumes as used anciently for civil purposes, as well as sacred, though they do not mention particulars. *Ointment and perfumes rejoice the heart*, Prov. xxvii. 9. Perhaps this word perfume comprehends in its meaning the waters distilled from roses, and

* P. 30, 31.

† Plate 17 R.

odoriferous flowers, whose scents in the East, at least in Egypt, if Maillet may be admitted to be a judge,* are much higher and more exquisitely grateful, than with us; but if those distillations should be thought not to have been known so early, the burning fragrant things, and the making a sweet smoke with them, we are sure, they were acquainted with,† and to that way of perfuming Solomon at least refers.‡ But a passage in Daniel makes it requisite to enter more minutely into this affair; and as at the same time it mentions some other Eastern forms of doing honour, which I have already taken notice of, but to all which in this case objections have been made, I will make my remarks upon it in a distinct article, which I will place immediately after this, and shew how easy that little collection of oriental compliments may be accounted for, as well as explain more at large this particular affair of burning odours merely as a civil expression of respect.

OBSERVATION XXXII.

This Subject farther illustrated from Dan. ii. 46.

THE passage in Daniel I referred to, which may be explained by this Eastern custom, is this, *Then*

* Let. ix. p. 14.

† See Exod. xxx. 35, 38.

‡ Sir J. Chardin tells us in one of the notes of his MS. that it is the common custom of the East, to have censers at their feasts; and perfumes are much more common there than in Europe. The ashes or embers of perfume, mentioned Tobit vi. 16., and ch. viii. 2., evidently refer to this custom, on which passage Sir John has not made any remark.

the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation, and sweet odours unto him. Chap. ii. 46.

St. Jerom tells us, that Porphyry objected to this account of Nebuchadnezzar's prostration before the Prophet :* he could not comprehend how it could be true, that a haughty king should adore a captive : and he reproached Daniel for accepting his oblation and his honours.

This father supposed that the oblation signified a sacrifice, and the sweet odours incense ; but I cannot say that he appears to have had his mind embarrassed with this passage, so much as with the proposal made by the servant of Saul to his master, when he thought of consulting the Prophet Samuel. I wish I could say however he had explained it so as to be less embarrassing to others : it will be thought, I imagine, by most, a difficult passage, at least, and that notwithstanding his comment, in which Jerom supposes, that Nebuchadnezzar's acknowledgment that the God of Daniel was a God of gods, and a revealer of secrets, was a proof that he offered these sacrifices, and this incense, not so much unto Daniel as unto God in Daniel ; after which, calling Porphyry a calumniator, he dismisses the subject, having first, though happily enough, remarked with respect to the prostration, that Alexander the Great did the same to the Jewish high-priest.

Later commentators are not much more satisfy-

* In Dan. chap. ii.

ing in their comments than this celebrated ancient. The note of Grotius on the latter part of the verse being this, "In the Hebrew it is, he commanded a *mincha* to be offered him, (that is, a cake of flour, and odours.) He commanded it, but Daniel did not suffer it to be done: for universal custom had set apart these honours to God, or to those who were accounted gods. So Jacchiades, and other rabbies, comment on the place." And according to this interpretation this passage is generally understood.

But there is no necessity of supposing this an idolatrous command. We do not find Daniel rejecting these honours, as Paul and Barnabas did those of the inhabitants of Lystra. To say that he did, though it is not mentioned, is a very licentious way of explaining Scripture. Mr. Maundrell has not applied his observations on the modern Eastern compliments to this text, as he did to that concerning the servant of Saul; but they are as applicable as to the other: and the whole of what Nebuchadnezzar commanded might very possibly be of a *civil* nature, and no ways improper to be addressed to the Prophet. The making this out is what I would here attempt.

Notwithstanding universal custom had set apart these honours to God, or those that were accounted gods, according to Grotius, he himself allows the prostration might not be idolatrous; and says, so great a Prophet was not unworthy this honour, citing the example of that captain that Ahaziah sent the third time to take Elijah. And indeed we have already seen, that nothing is more common

than this sort of compliment in those countries; and that without any intention of idolatry, or suspicion of such intention. It is true, princes in common received *from* Prophets this token of respect, rather than paid it *to* them; nevertheless, in some extraordinary conjunctures, and this was such an one, the reverse may well be supposed to have happened. Thus sacred history informs us, Saul stooped down with his face to the ground, and bowed himself when Samuel appeared, 1 Sam. xxviii. 14.; and Josephus tells us, that Alexander of Macedonia (a heathen prince, as Nebuchadnezzar was, and as haughty as he,) adored the Jewish high priest that came to meet him, not as a god, but as a highpriest of God. Jerom mentions this action of Alexander's; and so far, I think, has sufficiently disembarassed himself from the reproaches of Porphyry.

As to the second particular, though our translators have made use of the term *oblation*, yet the original word מנחה *minchah*, signifies not only a cake of flour offered unto God, but often a *present*, and that of very different things, made to mortal men. It is used for the presents in particular made by Jacob to Esau, Gen. xxxii. 13., &c. by his sons to Joseph, Gen. xliii. 11.; by Ehud to Eglon, Judg. iii. 15.; &c. It is used in like manner to signify the presents made to the Prophets of God, where there never has been, nor can be, the least jealousy in the world of any idolatrous design, though made by heathen kings, such as Nebuchadnezzar was; so it expresses the present made by the king of Syria to Elisha, 2 Kings viii. 9. It is

by no means necessary therefore to understand the present of Nebuchadnezzar of an idolatrous oblation, or of any thing more than such a gift, as it was becoming a Prophet to receive.

It may, perhaps, be thought an objection to this, that these presents were wont to be made to the Prophets before the exercise of their office : so was that to have been which Saul intended for Samuel, 1 Sam. ix. 7., &c. ; such was Jeroboam's to Ahijah, 1 Kings xiv. 2, 3. ; and the king of Syria's to Elisha, which I this moment mentioned. But this will be no difficulty, when it is observed, that a difference is to be made between going to consult a Prophet, and his coming to declare some future event : in this last case presents were made after the exercise of the prophetic gift. So when the man of God came out of Judah, to cry against the altar at Bethel, after he had denounced the judgments of God, *The king said unto the man of God. Come home with me, and refresh thyself, and I will give thee a reward,* 1 Kings xiii. 7. ; so after Jerusalem was taken, the captain of the guard gave to Jeremiah victuals and a reward, Jer. xl. 5. Now it is visible the case of Daniel much more resembles these, than the case of those to whom they applied to learn future events—*Arioach brought in Daniel before the king in haste, and said thus unto him, I have found a man of the captives of Judah, that will make known unto the king the interpretation.* Dan. ii. 25.

But the third thing is apparently the great difficulty—the offering sweet odours unto the Prophet. This is supposed to be a thing appropriated

to God, or those that were imagined to be gods. But why is this supposed? It is certain that odours were often made use of in the East, merely for civil purposes, and without any idolatrous intention whatsoever. They are so still.

And because something may very probably be learnt from their present customs of this sort, explanatory of this command of Nebuchadnezzar, let us, a little more distinctly than we have hitherto done, consider the various ways in which they make use of perfumes, and also the several views they have in making use of them.

When Maillet* was received by some of the chief officers of Egypt, as consul of France, he was regaled with sweet odours in more ways than one, odoriferous waters being poured out on his hands, and perfumes put upon coals, and the smoke of them presented to him. This is the account he gives of his reception at Alexandria. "After the usual compliments, they brought me black water, and afterwards white, (coffee that is, and sherbet,) to which succeeded sweetmeats. They after that presented me a basin, over which I washed my hands with odoriferous waters, which were poured upon me by an officer of the Aga. Lastly, they brought the perfume, and covered me with rich cloth, to make me the better receive it."

This last circumstance is expressed with so much brevity, that it is really obscure. Dr. Pococke, who attended an English consul at Cairo, gives this account of a Turkish visit, in the beginning of

* Let. i. p. 6.

his first volume,* which may serve to explain Maillet's. According to him then, the entertainment at these visits consists of a pipe, sweetmeats, coffee, sherbet; and at going away, rose-water,† which they sprinkle on the hands of the guest, with which he rubs his face, after which incense is brought, which he receives leaning forward, and holding out his garment on each side to take the smoke. The rich cloth then that Maillet speaks of was, it seems, some kind of veil used to prevent the too speedy dissipation of that delicious smoke.

The Egyptians may be thought to be a people more luxurious than their neighbours: perfumes however are used in other places of the East, as we learn from Dr. Russell, whose account, as being

* P. 15.

† Hasselquist tells us, that the red roses of Egypt, which are common in the gardens at Rosetta and Damata, are of no very strong scent, for which reason the water distilled from them is of no great value at Cairo; but he gives a very different account of that drawn from the white, which are cultivated, he says, in considerable quantities in the province of Fayhum. The flowers are, it seems, of a pale colour, not quite white, but rather inclining to red. They are double, being frequently of the size of a man's fist; and emit the most fragrant odour of any he had seen. From this sort, he says, an incredible quantity of water is distilled every day at Fayhum, and sold in Egypt, being exported even to other countries. An apothecary at Cairo bought yearly 1500 lb. (about 180 gallons,) which he caused to be brought to the city in copper vessels lined with wax, selling it to great profit in Cairo. The Eastern people use the water in a luxurious manner, sprinkling it on the head, face, hands, and clothes of the guests they mean to honour, afterwards perfuming them with frankincense, wood of aloes, &c. p. 248, &c.

more particular still, shall not be omitted. "Coffee," he says, "made very strong, without either sugar or milk, is a refreshment in high esteem with every body; and a dish of it, preceded by a little moist sweetmeat, (commonly conserve of red roses, acidulated with lemon-juice,) and a pipe of tobacco, is the usual entertainment at a visit. If they have a mind to use less ceremony, the sweetmeat is omitted; and if they would shew an extraordinary degree of respect, they add sherbet, (some syrup, chiefly that of lemon, mixed with water,) a sprinkling of rose or other sweet-scented water, and perfume with aloes-wood, which is brought last, and serves as a sign that it is time for the stranger to take his leave."*

Even the Arabs present a pipe, coffee, sweetmeats, and perfumes, when they are visited, according to the curious editor of the Ruins of Balbec,† and d'Arvieux;‡ who speak also of their pouring odoriferous waters on the face and hair, and who take particular notice of the wrapping up the head among them in a veil, on account of the perfume.

They make use too of odoriferous oils. So Haselquist tells us, that the Egyptians put the flowers of the tuberose into oil; and by this means give the oil a most excellent smell, scarcely inferior to oil of jessamine.§ In another page|| he mentions their laying flowers of jessamine, narcissus, &c. in oil,¶ and so making an odoriferous ointment, which

* P. 81. † P. 4. ‡ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 251.

§ P. 288.

|| P. 267.

¶ This oil, he tells us, is the oil of Behen, which emits no

those that love perfumes apply to the head, nose, and beard. This indeed seems to be the most ancient way of using perfumes in a liquid form. We have no account in the Scriptures, at least no clear account, so far as I recollect, of the using odoriferous waters; but fragrant ointments are frequently referred to. Accordingly it is supposed by the curious, that the distillation of these delicious waters is comparatively a modern invention; but the mixing oil and odoriferous substances together, we know, is as ancient as the days of Moses; and we find, by Hasselquist, continues to be made use of still, notwithstanding the introduction of distilled perfumes.

Sweet odours then are at this day used in the Levant, in different countries, and among very different sorts of people; and that both in a liquid form, and in that of smoke; and this without the least idolatrous design.

Besides what appears in these citations, we find, by another passage of Dr. Pococke, that it is a mark of importance when persons are treated with perfumes by the great; for describing an English Consul's waiting on the Pasha of Tripoli, on the Pasha's return from a journey to meet the Mecca

scent or smell at all; and therefore he supposes it very proper for preparing odoriferous ointments and balsams, and that it is on this account much used by the inhabitants of the East. All this is well enough: but when he adds, that this undoubtedly was that with which Aaron was anointed, he appears to be extremely mistaken; the Scriptures directing the sacerdotal ointment to be made with oil of olives, Exod. xxx. 24.: but this is not the only place where he shews himself to be a much better naturalist than divine.

caravan, he says, "that sweetmeats, coffee, and sherbet, were brought to all, but the Consul alone was perfumed and incensed." Whereas, when the same company waited presently after on the Caia, or the chief minister of the Pasha, they were treated after the same manner, except that all were perfumed and incensed. So then, if the sweet odours that were presented to Daniel, were used with the same intention that these modern odoriferous liquids and smoke are, it was dismissing the Prophet with great respect; and, considering the quality of the person that ordered it, was a high honour done him, but of the civil kind, and without any thing like idolatry; and perhaps was no more than what the new dignity, to which Nebuchadnezzar had raised him, made proper.

But if the burning and sprinkling perfumes be so common in the East as a mere civil compliment, how came this notion of the idolatrous nature of Nebuchadnezzar's command to be so universal? How came Maundrell, who so happily explained the proposal of Saul's servant to his master, to take no notice of this remarkable circumstance? The last is only a proof, that the most ingenious travellers have taken little notice of the coincidence between the remaining original customs and passages of Scripture, except in very striking cases. And as to the first, writers seem to be sometimes strangely disposed to think many innocent usages of antiquity idolatrous. This the writers, from whence the *Notæ Variorum* on Curtius are taken, suppose the pomp with which Alexander the Great was received into that very city of

Babylon, (where Daniel now was,) a few generations after, was idolatrous, and paid to him as a God, without sufficient reason. The pomp, as described by Curtius,* consisted in strewing flowers and garlands in the way, burning frankincense and other odours on each side of the places through which he passed, making him royal presents, and singing, and playing upon instruments before him. Freinshemius, who was one of these writers, supposes the singing before him was idolatrous: though we not only find in Hanway,† that a considerable number of singers used to precede Kouli-Khan, the late celebrated Persian monarch, where an idolatrous intention cannot be imagined: but that the like solemnity was in use among the Jews, where nothing of this kind is, or can be suspected, 2 Chron. xx. 21, 28.; nay, though Curtius expressly says in this passage, that these singers were those that were wont to sing the praises of their kings. And even as to that burning frankincense and other odours, it appears to be no more than doing him great civil honours: for as it was customary for the Persians to burn odours before their princes, and in times of triumph and joy:‡ so Brissonius,§ (who is celebrated|| for the accuracy of his observations on the customs of the Persians) affirmed, that he did not remember to have any where observed, that the Persians used incense in the worship of their gods. Nor have the passages

* Lib. v. cap. 1.

† Vol. I. p. 249, 251.

‡ Vide Not. Var. in Q. Curtium, lib. v. cap. 1. p. 264.

§ Ubi supra.

|| Vide Not. Var. in Q. Curt. p. 41.

Savaro* produces, it is certain, any force in them, to prove the contrary; the one being this very passage of Curtius, and the other a line from a poet who flourished near five hundred years after the birth of our LORD, and therefore no competent witness concerning the idolatrous rites of the ancient Persians.

The pouring out sweet odours on Daniel, which seems to be the import of the words, must, certainly, be less exceptionable than the burning odours before him. But if they were burnt before him, as it would not now in that country have the least idolatrous appearance; as it would not have had that appearance among the ancient Persians, if it made, as Brissonius supposes, no part of the worship of their gods; as perfumes seem to have been used sometimes for mere civil purposes, in countries where they entered into the solemnities of religion, for Solomon says, *ointment and perfume rejoice the heart*, Prov. xxvii. 9.; and Moses, when he forbids the Israelites the making a perfume to smell to like that ordered by him to be burned in the sanctuary, supposes perfumes might be, or were sometimes, burnt for mere secular uses; why should this command of Nebuchadnezzar be imagined to be idolatrous?†

* P. 264.

† An honour of much the same kind seems to have obtained in the West, which Horace speaks of in one of his Satires, and which appears, by that passage, not to have been appropriated to such as the Romans deified, as they did their emperors; but to have been done to obscure magistrates, acknowledged to be mere mortals.

To finish this article, Nebuchadnezzar appears in all this matter to have considered Daniel merely as a Prophet: his words strongly express this, *Your God is a God of gods*, ver. 47.; and had it been otherwise, a person so zealous as Daniel, who ran the risque of his life rather than neglect his homage unto his God, and had the courage to pray to him, in that dangerous situation, with his windows open towards Jerusalem, would undoubtedly, like Paul and Barnabas, have rejected these odours. To suppose after all this, that they were idolatrous, seems to me almost as perverse, as to imagine the burning sweet odours at the death of King Asa, 2 Chron. xvi. 14., was the solemnity of an apotheosis: but vehemently inclined as the Jews were to idolatry, the deifying their deceased kings does not appear to have been one of their transgressions.

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

Changing the Dress of a Person, a Token of Honour.

THERE was an honour of a different kind done to Daniel afterwards, the clothing him with scarlet,

——— *Insani ridentes præmia scribæ,
Prætextam, & latum clavum, prunæque batillum.*

HOR. Lib. i. Sat. v. l. 34, 36.

“ We ridiculed the vanity of that foolish scrivener (Aufidius Luscus) clothed with his *Prætexta*, adorned with the *Latus Clavus*, and having a censer of burning coals carried before him.” —
EDIT.

mentioned Dan. v. 16, 19. We have no custom of this kind: persons receive favours of various sorts from princes. But the coming out from their presence in a different dress is not an honour in use among us, but it is still practised in the East.

Some doubt however may be made concerning the precise intention of this clothing him, whether it was the investing him with the dignity of the third ruler of the kingdom, by putting on him the dress belonging to that office; or whether it was a distinct honour: the modern customs of the East not determining this point, because *caffetans* (or *robes*,) are at this day put on people with both views.

So Norden, speaking of one of the Arab princes of Upper-Egypt, says, that he had received at Girge the *caffetan* of the Bey, which was the only mark of respect they paid there to the Turkish government, force deciding between the competitors who should have the dignity, and he that was sent to Girge being absolutely to be vested with the *caffetan* by the Bey.* But then we find too that these *caffetans* are given merely as an honour, and not as an ensign of office. La Roque tells us, that he himself received it at Sidon, and three other attendants on the French consul, along with the consul himself, who upon a particular occasion waited on Ishmael the Basha of that place.† Agreeably to which Thevenot tells us, he saw an ambassador from the Great Mogul

* Part II. p. 96, 97.

† Voy. de Syr. & du Mont Liban, Tom. I. p. 16.

come out from an audience he had of the Grand Seignior with a vest of cloth of gold upon his back, a caffetan of which sort of stuff thirty of his retinue also had ;* and in another place,† that he saw one hundred and eight of the retinue of an Egyptian Bey thus honoured, along with their master, by a Basha of that country.

But if it should be indeterminate, whether this scarlet vestment was merely the dress belonging to the office with which Daniel was dignified, or a distinct honour, it is by no means uncertain whether it was put upon him or not, since these caffetans are always in readiness in the East, and are wont immediately to be put on, contrary to the sentiment of the learned Mr. Lowth, who supposes, in his Commentary, on Dan. v. 9., that though the king thought himself bound to perform the promise of the 16th verse, yet that it was likely it could not take effect, at that unseasonable time of the night ; and therefore the words might have been better translated, *Then commanded Belshazzar that they should clothe Daniel with scarlet.* This is certainly an unnecessary refinement.

I would here take the liberty of annexing a curious passage from Sir J. Chardin's sixth MS. volume, to the last paragraph, which will abundantly shew, how easy it is to put a garment on a person they intend to honour, answerable to that degree of honour they design to do him, let it be what it will. After having observed that in

* Part I. p. 85.

† P. 236.

Persia, and the Indies, they not only give a vestment, but a complete suit of clothes, when they would do a person more honour than common, contrary to what is practised in Turkey and China, he goes on to observe, that these presents of vestments are only from superiors to inferiors, not from equals to equals, nor from the mean to the great.* Kings constantly give them to ambassadors, residents, and envoys; and send them to princes who are their tributaries, and pay them homage. They pay great attention to the quality or merit of those to whom these vestments or habits are given; they are always answerable to their rank. Those that are given to their great men have, in like manner, as much difference as there is between the degrees of honour they possess in the state. The Kings of Persia have great wardrobes, where there are always many hundreds of habits ready, designed for presents, and sorted. The intendant of the wardrobe (which they call Kalaat Kané, that is, the house of Kalaats, that being the name given those vestments that are made presents of,) sends one of them to the person the great master orders, and of that kind the order directs. More than forty taylors are always employed in this house. This difference of vestments, as to the stuff they are made of, is not observed in Turkey: there they are pretty much alike in point of richness; but they give more or fewer according to the dignity of the persons to whom they are pre-

* See however the next Observation.

sented, or the degree in which they would caress them: there are ambassadors that have received twenty-five or thirty of them, for themselves and attendants; and several are given to one person, respect being had to the place he holds. In the year 1675, the King of Persia having returned answer to the agents of the grandson of Teimuras-Khan, the last king of Iberia, (who solicited his return to court, and was then in Moscovy,) that he should be welcome; and this young prince, having come to the frontiers, his Majesty sent one of his officers to bring him to him, and to defray his expences, with a very rich present, in which, among other things, were five complete suits of clothes.

OBSERVATION XXXIV.

Presents of Garments often made even to the Great.

PRESENTS of vestments, on the other hand, are frequently made in these countries to the great, and those that are in public stations; and they expect them.

Thevenot tells us,* it was a custom in Egypt, in his time, for the Consuls of the European nations to send the Basha a present of so many vests; and so many besides to some officers, both when a new basha came, or a new Consul entered his

* Part I. p. 253.

office, as were rated at above a thousand piastres. Does not this last account remind us of the presents that were made to Solomon, by the neighbouring princes, at set times, part of which, we are expressly told, consisted of raiment? 2 Chron. ix. 24.

This may be thought not very well to agree with a remark of Sir J. Chardin, mentioned under the last Observation, "that vestments are not presented by inferiors to superiors; or even by an equal to an equal." But there is really no inconsistency: vestments are not the things that are chosen by those that would make a present to the great, in common; but they may be ordered to be sent as a sort of tribute, or a due which the superior claims.

The other things mentioned in that passage of Chronicles, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, harness and spices, horses and mules, still continue to be thought fit presents to the great. So Russell tells us, in his account of the Eastern visits,* that if it is a visit of ceremony from a Basha or a person in power, a fine horse, sometimes with furniture, or some such valuable thing, is made a present of to him at his departure; and the Baron Fabricius, in his letters concerning Charles XII. of Sweden, tells us,† that when he was seized at Bender, the house being set on fire, the rich presents that had been made him, consisting of tents, sabres, saddles and bridles adorned with jewels, rich housings and harnesses, to the value of 200,000 crowns, were consumed. Of the rest, the vessels of silver and

* Vol. I. p. 170.

† P. 487.

the spices may be illustrated by that story of d'Herbelot concerning Akhschid, the commander of an Eastern province, who is said to have purchased peace of Jezid, general of the troops of one of the Khaliffs, by sending him a present of seven hundred thousand drams of silver in ready money; four hundred loads of saffron, which that country produced in abundance; and four hundred slaves, who each of them carried a rich turban of silk in a silver basin.

OBSERVATION XXXV.

Party-coloured Garments esteemed a Mark of Honour.

PARTY-COLOURED vestments are also esteemed a mark of honour. Kings' daughters were so arrayed, 2 Sam. xiii. 18., which shews it was a dress of dignity.

Dr. Shaw cites this passage, and supposes an account which he had just before given, of the dress of the present African ladies, exactly answers it. I should not therefore have taken any notice of this circumstance in these papers, had I not apprehended that the Doctor's account was not perfectly accurate.

“The virgins,” says the Doctor, “are distinguished from the matrons, in having their drawers made of needle-work, striped silk, or linen, just as Tamar's garment is described, 2 Samuel xiii. 18.”

Two things, I think, are to be remarked here.

In the first place, her garment of divers colours I should hardly imagine to be her drawers. Would she have rent that part of her dress as expressive of grief? Besides, we know מִכְנֶסֶם *mikneseem*, is a quite different word which expresses drawers, in Exodus xxviii. 42.; in a preceding part* of which paragraph the term כֶּתֶנֶת *ketonet* is used, which denotes that part of the dress of Tamar that was of divers colours, to express a part of the dress of the priests quite different from their drawers, and which our translators render *coat*.

Secondly, these garments were of different colours, not by being made of striped materials, or by being embroidered, but by having many pieces of different colours sewed together: the original word פָּסֵם *passeem* signifying rather small pieces than colours, of which our translators have given an intimation in the margin of Gen. xxxvii. 3., explanatory of Joseph's dress, which appears to have been the same with Tamar's.

This way of ornamenting their dress continues still in the East: Dr. Shaw himself mentions it, in the same page in which he speaks of Tamar.† There he tells us, that they wear shirts of linen, or cotton, or gauze, underneath their tunics. That the sleeves of these shirts are wide and open, and that "those, particularly of the women, are oftentimes of the richest gauze, adorned with different coloured ribbands, interchangeably sewed to each other." A garment of this kind, would of course be a garment of *divers pieces* and *divers colours* both.

* Ver. 39, 40.

† P. 228.

OBSERVATION XXXVI.

Eastern Warriors often magnificently clothed.

ROUGH as the Eastern warriors are, in their manners, they frequently wear very pompous vestments.

Lady Montague describing in her letters the pompous manner in which she saw the Grand Seignior go to mosque, among other attendants, she tells us she saw "the Aga of the Janizaries," which term, it is well known, signifies the general of the most honourable body of Turkish troops, "in a robe of purple velvet, lined with silver tissue, his horse led by two slaves richly dressed."* In another place† this very agreeable writer, observing that ancient customs still very much continue in the East, tells us, that ladies pass their time at their looms, embroidering veils and robes, surrounded by their maids.

These outer garments, which her ladyship calls *robes*, and Dr. Shaw *burnooses*, (which he tells us answer to our cloaks,) he expressly says, sit very strait about the neck.‡ All which circumstances put together, furnish out a very pleasant comment on Judges v. 30., as it lies in our translation: *Have they not sped? Have not they divided the prey? To Sisera a prey of divers colours, a prey of divers colours of needle-work* (or embroidery of divers colours of needle-work) *on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil?*

* Vol. II. p. 20, 21.

+ P. 44, 45.

‡ P. 225.

OBSERVATION XXXVII.

Sometimes a Prince gives his own Garment as a Token of the highest Respect.

PRINCES do not only order caffetans to be given to those they would honour ; they sometimes have presented people with their own garments.

So d'Herbelot tells us,* that when Sultan Selim, the son of Bajazet, had defeated Cansou Gauri, Sultan of the Mamelukes of Egypt, he assisted at prayers in a mosque at Aleppo, upon his triumphant return to Constantinople ; and that the Iman of the mosque, having added at the close of the prayer these words, “ May God preserve Selim Khan, the servant and minister of the two sacred cities of Mecca and Medinah !” the title was so very agreeable to the Sultan, that he gave the robe that he had on to this Iman, and that from that time forward the Ottoman Emperors have always used it in their letters patent, as kings of Egypt. Maillet tells us the same story,† but differs as to the place, which, according to him, was Damascus ; a circumstance of no consequence at all to these remarks.

Just thus Jonathan stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David ; and his garments, even to his sword, and to his bow, and to his girdle, 1 Sam. xviii. 4.

* P. 571.

† Let. xii. p. 153, 154.

Bishop Patrick, I am afraid, does not represent this story with due simplicity, when in his comment he tells us, this was done to express the most entire and perfect union. “ That he might look like another Jonathan,” are the words of that writer. Without doubt, the celebrated friendship between Jonathan and David now commenced ; but this stripping himself of his robes and putting them upon David was no more than doing a high honour to an inferior, in the eyes of the servants of Saul, according to modern Eastern customs, not intended to make him look like another Jonathan. Selim, we are sure, when he gave his robe to a Moham-medan ecclesiastic in the year 1519, had no intention to make that ecclesiastic look like another Selim ; or even to declare him the most intimate of his friends.

The Bishop’s interpretation seems to be the more strange, as something of the like nature has been practised by our own princes. I have seen a robe of queen Elizabeth, given by her majesty to one of our cities, and which, I think, its mayors used formerly to wear on great solemnities ; but no one will suppose any thing more was intended by her, than by sultan Selim when he presented his robe to the Iman ; both simply intended to do an honour to those to whom they presented their robes ; nor is there any ground to suppose Jonathan intended any thing different from them.

OBSERVATION XXXVIII.

Criminals not permitted to look on the Person of the King.

As the dignity of a prince made the being arrayed in his clothes a mighty honour ; so it did not allow of a malefactor's setting his eyes upon him. The majesty at least of the kings of Persia did not allow of this, as appears in the case of Haman, whose face was covered, as soon as the courtiers perceived Ahasuerus looked upon him in that light, Esth. vii. 8.

Some curious correspondent examples have been produced from antiquity, and may be met with in Pool's Synopsis : but perhaps it may be amusing to find that this custom still continues ; and it may be useful, more clearly to ascertain the meaning of covering his face, which has been differently understood by learned men.

I shall therefore set down, from Dr. Pococke's Travels,* the account he gives of an artifice by which an Egyptian bey† was taken off ; which was this. A man being brought before him like a malefactor just taken, with his hands behind him as if tied, and a napkin over his head, as malefac-

* Vol. I. p. 179.

† The title they give to the greatest men of that country after the Basha.

tors commonly have, when he was brought before the Bey suddenly shot him dead.

Harbonah's covering Haman's face then was the placing him before the king, as a malefactor, to hear his doom.

This same circumstance also may be thought to be explanatory of a remarkable clause in the prophecies of Ezekiel, who speaks of false-prophetesses, as making *kerchiefs, upon the head of every stature* (or persons of all ages) *to hunt souls*, Ezek. xiii. 18.

It is certain these prophetesses did two very different things : they slew (in prediction) those that were not to die ; and they *saved the souls alive*, that were not to live ; ver. 19. This making kerchiefs then upon the head may be understood in very contrary senses.

A very learned and ingenious writer* supposes the word מספחות *mispachoth*, translated *kerchiefs*, signifies *veils* ; and the putting them on the head the keeping people in blindness and ignorance. But I cannot adopt this explanation : because it seems not to express, with sufficient strength, what these false prophetesses certainly did, who absolutely predicted the very contrary to what was to happen, and did not content themselves with concealing future events from them ; nor, secondly, does it agree with the nature of Eastern veils, which, though they keep others in ignorance who the wearers of them are, by no means hinder those that make use

* Gataker, whose sentiments seem to be adopted by Mr. Lowth, in his commentary on Ezek. xiii. 18.

of them from seeing whither they are going—they themselves can see, though they are unseen.

Shall we on the contrary suppose this clause rather refers to those whom they threatened with death, as they certainly did some, at the same time that they promised others life? They perhaps may be represented as covering the heads of those they by their prophesyings destined unto death; as the head of Haman was covered when he was really in those circumstances. No commentator, that I know of, has given us this explanation; but it seems worthy of some attention.

I am nevertheless inclined to understand the clause in a different sense, and as relating to those whom they flattered into ease by their allurements: since the veiling of malefactors seems not well to agree to a female character; and since an easy explanation may be given of the image here made use of, understanding it as descriptive of their fatal prophetic flatteries.

The Eastern mode of sitting, supported by pillows, which I have had occasion to mention under a preceding Observation, and of which Dr. Russell has given us a print, representing a fine Eastern lady reposing herself on one of these bolsters or pillows, by leaning with one of her arms on one of them, while she is smoking, fully explains one part of this representation of Ezekiel. And when we are told by Dr. Shaw,* and lady M. W. Montague,† that the Eastern women bind on their other ornaments for the head with a handkerchief, which

* P. 221.

† Vol. II. p. 30.

the last of them calls a rich embroidered handkerchief, we are naturally led to suppose we have the interpretation of that other clause of Ezekiel, which we have been considering. If the custom be but as ancient as the time of Ezekiel, we have no reason to doubt of it; for these prophetesses did the same thing by their flattering words, as would have been best expressed, if they had thought fit to signify the same thing by actions only, (as the Prophets sometimes did,) by making bolsters for the arms, and presenting them to the Israelitish women whom they wanted to assure of the continuance of their prosperity; and embroidering handkerchiefs, proper to bind over the ornaments of females in a state of honour, and afterwards putting them on their heads. Whereas, the true Prophets* of God gave them to understand, in direct contradiction to all this, that if the Jews would not yield up themselves to the Chaldeans, great numbers of their men should perish, and their women should be brought down from those elevated places in which they sat, supported by rich bolsters, (their divans as Russell calls them,) and should be forced *to sit on the ground*; and instead of a rich attire for their heads, should have their hair miserably dishevelled, strongly marking out grief, in a despairing neglect of their persons. Such is the description an elder Prophet gives of the state of captives, which every one must see is just the reverse of what these false prophetesses are represented as doing: *Come down and sit in the dust,*

* Isa. xx. 2—4. Ezek. xxiv. 16, 17, 22, 23, 24, &c. &c.

*O virgin daughter of Babylon ; sit on the ground : there is no throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans : for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate. Take the millstones and grind meal, uncover thy locks, &c. Isa. xlvii. 1, 2.**

This explanation agrees perfectly well with our translation, which makes use of the old English term kerchief here ; and, according to this account of matters, does so with very great propriety, it being much better than the word veils. It agrees as well with the sentiment of those that suppose the original word signifies whatever serves to bind or fasten a thing on.† But neither the one, nor the other, nor Junius,‡ who supposes the word signifies triumphal caps, such as the Babylonians and Egyptians were wont to wear, do, by the several terms they make use of, convey to the mind the thought I have been proposing with clearness and precision ; nor perhaps intended any thing very like it.

The threatening of God by Isaiah, ch. iii. 17., may perhaps somewhat confirm the explanation

* A remarkable instance of this we have in the medal struck by Vespasian, on the subjugation of the Jews. On the reverse is seen a *palm-tree*, and a woman sitting on the ground at the foot of it, with her head leaning on her arm, weeping ; and at her feet different pieces of armour ; with this legend *Judea capta*. And thus was exactly fulfilled the saying of the Prophet, Isa. iii. 26 : *And she, being desolate, shall sit upon the ground.*—EDIT.

† Vide Buxtorfii Epit. Rad. Heb. “ Generale nomen, juxta quosdam, earum rerum quibus aliquid constringitur, & conjungitur ut adhærescat ; R. Dav. Kimchi, Pepla ; alii Tiaræ.”

‡ Apud Poli Syn.

I have been giving: *Therefore the LORD will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughter of Zion.* It is evident the Prophet is speaking of the painful alterations produced by a being defeated in war, *Thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war,* ver. 25. But what has a *scab* to do with subjection or captivity? If however we observe the resemblance between the word ספח *sapach*, from whence the word translated *kerchief* is derived, שפח *sipach*, which our version renders *he will smite with a scab*, on the one hand being hardly distinguishable from each other by different sounds; and reflect, on the other hand, that many nations, have been fond of using the same word or words very little different from each other in sound, in opposite senses, which they have considered as elegant in writing, and dignified by the names of the Antanaclasis and the Paranomasia; we possibly may enter into the reason of the expression—the daughters of Zion have been wont to adorn their heads with a rich embroidered handkerchief; *but the LORD*, says the Prophet, using a term just the same in sound, *shall smite their heads with a scab.*

OBSERVATION XXXIX.

Other curious Methods of doing Persons Honour.

BUT besides these methods of doing honour to persons which have formed a sort of regular series,

there are some others which are not to be forgotten, and which I shall give an account of in a more miscellaneous way.

When, for instance, I read Pitts' account of a cavalcade at Algiers, upon a person's turning Mohammedan, and which is apparently designed to do him, as well as their law, honour, I cannot forbear thinking of the manner in which Haman proposed to do a person honour, and which Mordecai actually received. I will not repeat that passage of the book of Esther,* as the following extract from Pitts will bring it sufficiently to mind :

“ The apostate is to get on horseback, on a stately steed, with a rich saddle and fine trappings : he is also richly habited, and has a turban on his head but nothing of this is to be called his own ; only there is given about him two or three yards of broad cloth, which is laid before him on the saddle. The horse, with him on his back, is led all round the city which he is several hours in doing The apostate is attended with drums, and other music, and twenty or thirty vekil harges, or stewards, who, as I told you, are under the otho-bashees, or serjeants. These march in order on each side of the horse, with naked swords in their hands The cryer goes before, with a loud voice giving thanks to God for the proselyte that is made,” &c †

Strange as the method may appear to us of ho-

* Ch vi. 7—9.

† P. 118, 199.

nouring a person by putting vestments on him above his degree, and which it is not designed he should keep, together with the carrying him thus equipped about a large town on horseback, attended by a cryer: yet Africans, we find, concur with Asiatics in it. It is no wonder then to find Haman proposed a thing of this sort, and that Ahasuerus easily assented to it.

OBSERVATION XL.

Riding on Horseback, the Privilege only of highly-privileged Persons.

THE riding at all on a horse seems to be an honourable thing in the East, since Europeans are not in common permitted to do it; the consuls of France, according to Maillet,* being the only Frenchmen in Egypt who are allowed it, the rest being obliged to ride on asses or mules. Dr. Pococke, in like manner, describes the English consul as making his entry into Cairo on horseback, his friends and attendants on asses; no Christian, excepting consuls, being permitted to ride on horseback in the city.†

This is not peculiar to Egypt: Maundrell complains of his being obliged, with his company, to submit to this affront at Damascus.‡ Not that the asses of these countries are not proper enough to ride on, for they have nothing of that indolence and heaviness, Maillet says, which are natural to

* Let. i. p. 7, 8.

† Vol. I. p. 17.

‡ P. 130.

our's, and will hold their briskness through the longest journies, so that ladies ride nothing else, and the men choose them rather than horses, when their circumstances will permit;* but because they are by no means so proper as a horse for times of solemnity and state, or at any time for such persons as would appear with dignity.

Accordingly, horses are used to no other motions in the East than that of walking in state, and running in full career.† And for this reason, Pococke tells us, the chous of the Janizaries (at Cairo) always goes on an ass for greater speed; those creatures pacing along very fast, whereas it is contrary to the Turkish dignity to go, on a horse, faster than a foot-pace in the streets.‡ Riding on horseback is, in the Levant, accounted an honourable thing; and they ride them accordingly in a very stately manner.

And indeed this has so struck some of our Western travellers, Dr. Russell in particular,§ that they have frankly confessed, that a great man of the East, riding on horseback, and attended by his servants, has appeared much more stately and dignified to them, than one of ours does in his coach loaded with footmen. And, in truth, the people of these countries must be allowed to be most requisite connoisseurs, as to every attitude and every circumstance that serves to ennoble the appearance of a person, and render it stately and majestic.

The Prophet Zechariah seems accordingly to have supposed this sort of sensibility, when he de-

* Let. ix. p. 29.

† Shaw, p. 166.

‡ Vol. IX. p. 191.

§ See Vol. I. p. 222.

scribes the coming of the Messiah to Zion as *meek and lowly*, because he was to make his entry on an ass.

For this attaching of stateliness and dignity to the riding on a horse, obtained in Judea before the times of Zechariah, though it had not been always so in that country, the greatest personages, and on the most solemn occasions too, riding there in more ancient times on asses and mules.* It seems to have begun in the reign of Solomon, in whose days we are told many horses were brought out of Egypt,† and who apparently touches upon the pomp, supposed to be in riding on horses, in his writings, Eccles. x. 7. I have already taken some notice of this passage; but Russell's account of persons of condition riding on horseback, with a number of servants walking before them, is a much more perfect illustration of a passage which speaks of those that ride as riding on horses. "I have seen servants riding in state," was the thought of the wise man, while persons of great birth, in countries where dignity is kept up with the nicest care, he had seen walking like servants before those that rode.

To the splendor also of this attendance, he refers without doubt in part, in those words, *I got me servants*, Eccles. ii. 7.

* See Judges x. 4. 2 Sam. xviii. 9. 1 Kings i. 33.

† 1 Kings x. 28., before which time there were few or no horses in Judea.

OBSERVATION XLI.

Honours conferred on those who have got the Koran by Heart.

WE are told in a book, which gives an account of the sufferings of the crew of an English privateer, shipwrecked on the African coast in 1745-6,* and which occasionally mentions the education of their children, and their getting the Koran by heart, that “when they have gone through, their relations borrow a fine horse and furniture, and carry them about the town in procession, with the book in their hands, the rest of their companions following, and all sorts of the music of the country going before.”

Dr. Shaw mentions the same custom,† adding the acclamation of the school-boys, but taking no notice of the music. We have no reason, however, to doubt the fact on account of the Doctor’s silence, especially as it relates to another part of Barbary, and as it is given us by those that resided some years in that country.

Shaw makes no use of this circumstance relating to the education of youth in Barbary; but I confess, the account that the privateer’s people have given of this procession, seems to me to be a lively comment on that ancient Jewish procession, mentioned 1 Sam. x. 5, 6., *Thou shalt meet a company*

* Barbarian Cruelty, Appendix, p. 52.

† P. 195.

of Prophets coming down from the high place, with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp before them, and they shall prophesy. And the Spirit of the Lord will come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man. That the word prophets oftentimes signifies sons or scholars of the Prophets, and prophesying singing, have been often remarked: but no author, that I know of, has given any account of the nature of this procession, and what it was designed for. We are sometimes told, high places were used for sacrifices: and in one case, music, it is certain, went playing before them when they went up to worship, Isa. xxx. 29.; but did they also return from sacrificing with it? We are told that music was made use of by the Prophets to calm and compose them, and invite the Divine influences; which is indeed very true, but is it to the purpose? Did they go forth in this manner from their college, into the noise and interruptions of the world, to call down the prophetic impulse? But if we consider them as a company of the *sons of the Prophets*, going in procession with *songs of praise*, and music playing before them, and recollect that it is usual at this day for young scholars to go in procession with acclamations, and music playing before them, the whole mystery seems to be unravelled. To which may be added, that Saul was to meet them, and find himself turned into another man, into a man, perhaps, that is as instantaneously made as knowing in the law of God, as the youth to whom they were doing these honours, or any of

his convoy; which acquaintance with the laws of God was very necessary, for one that was to judge among his brethren as their king. For this reason the Jewish kings were to write out a copy of the law of God, and read it continually, that they might be perfect masters of it, Deut. xvii. 18—20.; which accomplishment some youth had gained whom Saul met with, and was honoured with the solemnity the sacred historian speaks of, if the customs of South Barbary may be supposed to be explanatory of those of Judea.

OBSERVATION XLII.

Watering the Ground to lay the Dust, before a Superior.

WHEN the Consul whom Dr. Pococke attended entered Cairo, the Doctor tells us, that, according to an ancient custom of state, a man went before and sprinkled water on the ground to lay the dust.*

Every one knows the convenience of this practice in hot and dry countries; but I do not remember to have met with it mentioned any where else as an Eastern way of doing honour: but if the Doctor is right here, if it was not barely a thing thought at that time convenient, but an ancient custom of state, the same causes might occasion it to be used in other countries; and if it had been used in Judea before the time of David, in the

* Vol. I. p. 17.

days of the Judges and of Saul, it will explain Shimei's behaviour, and give it great energy, who, in direct opposition to it, threw stones, and dusted him with dust in the day of that prince's affliction.* He had been wont to be honoured by having people go before him to take care that the ground should be moistened, and no dust raised where he was to pass; Shimei did the reverse.

This honour is not however confined to royalty; an English consul was thus treated; private persons were also thus dishonoured, for the Jews clamoured against St. Paul in the temple, and threw dust, Acts xxii. 23.

An observation Sir John Chardin has made in his MS. note on Job ii. 2., gives a somewhat different turn to our apprehensions of the behaviour of Shimei, and of the Jews in the temple towards St. Paul: he says; "that in almost all the East, those who accuse a criminal, or demand justice against him, throw dust upon him, as much as to say, he deserves to be put under ground; and that it is a common interpretation of the Turks and Persians, Be covered with earth; Earth be upon thy head: as we are ready to say, I wish you four feet under ground." The Jews certainly thought St. Paul deserved to die; and Shimei might design to declare by what he did, that David was unworthy to live.

I must leave it to my reader to determine which sentiment is most natural.

* 2 Sam. xvi. 13. marg.

OBSERVATION XLIII.

Singular Method of honouring an Arabian Princess.

WHEN d'Arvieux was in the camp of the great Emir, his princess was visited by other Arab princesses. The last that came, whose visit alone he describes, was mounted, he says, on a camel covered with a carpet, and decked with flowers; a dozen women marched in a row before her, holding the camel's halter with one hand: they sung the praises of their mistress, and songs which expressed joy, and the happiness of being in the service of such a beautiful and amiable lady. Those which went first, and were more distant from her person, came in their turn to the head of the camel, and took hold of the halter; which place, as being the post of honour, they quitted to others, when the princess had gone a few paces. The Emir's wife sent her women to meet her, to whom the halter was entirely quitted, out of respect, her own women putting themselves behind the camel: in this order they marched to the tent, where she alighted. They then all sung together the beauty, birth, and good qualities, of this princess.*

Does not this account illustrate a passage† of the Prophet Nathan, where he speaks of the presenting the Queen of Nineveh, or Nineveh itself under the figure of a queen, to her conqueror? He

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 249.

† Ch. ii. 7.

describes her as led by her maids, with the voice of doves, with the *voice of mourning*; that is, their wonted songs of joy, with which they used to lead her along, as the Arab women did their princess, being turned into lamentations.

That the Prophet is speaking of the presenting Huzzab to her conqueror, is visible from the word brought up, *Huzzab shall be led away captive; she shall be brought up*; which is the same word in the original, as well as in our version, which is used for the conducting Zedekiah to the place where his conqueror held his court, 2 Kings xxv. 6. Jer. xxxix. 5.

Nor were former distinctions altogether lost in captivity, *Thou shalt not escape out of his hand*, said Jeremiah to Zedekiah; *thou shalt surely be taken and delivered into his hand. . . . But thou shalt die in peace; and with the burnings of thy fathers, the former kings which were before thee, so shall they burn odours for thee; and they will lament thee, saying, Ah, Lord!* Jer. xxxiv. 3, 5. Though Zedekiah was to die a captive, yet some distinctions of royalty were to be paid him in captivity: so Huzzab was to be led by her maids into the presence of her conqueror, as princesses were usually led, but with the voice of lamentation instead of the voice of joy.

Mr. Lowth, in his Commentary, supposes this passage of Nahum describes Huzzab as a great princess, attended by her maids of honour, bewailing her and their condition; but neither has he, nor any other commentator that I know of, entered into the force of the expression, *her maids*

shall lead her, any more than of the term brought up.

OBSERVATION XLIV.

Honours paid to Nadir Shah.

THE women of the Arab princess led her camel singing. This is not peculiar to the Eastern princesses. Hanway tells us, that Nadir Shah,* when he removed his camp, was preceded by his running footmen, and these by his chanters, who were nine hundred in number, and frequently chanted moral sentences and encomiums on the Shah, occasionally proclaiming his victories also.†

The like practice obtained among the inhabitants of Mount Libanus, in the time of Pope Clement VIII.; for Dandini, the Pope's nuncio to the Maronites, says, "We were always accompanied with the better sort of people, who walked on foot before our mules; and out of the respect they bore to the Pope, and in honour to us, they would sing certain songs, and spiritual airs, which they usually sung as they marched before the patriarch, and other persons of quality."‡ It was not confined, according to this account, to mean persons; but persons of figure went before him in procession with songs.

We are willing to suppose, that Elijah's running before Ahab's chariot to the gates of Jezreel,§ was

* Kouli Khan, as we commonly called him.

† Vol. I. p. 249, 251.

‡ Ch. xvii. p. 68.

§ 1 Kings xviii. 46.

not unworthy his prophetic character : but as the idea of the mob's running before a royal coach will present itself to some minds, when they read this passage ; so commentators are not very happy in explaining this piece of the history of Elijah. Bishop Patrick supposes he ran before Ahab like one of his footmen, in which he shewed his readiness to do the king all imaginable honour, and that he was far from being his enemy. Would it however have become Becket, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to have run before the horse of Henry II. to shew he was not his enemy? or even Friar Peito before Henry VIII. to do him all imaginable honour?

But if Ahab had chanters running before him, like Nadir Shah, it does not appear at all contrary to the rules of decorum, for one brought up to celebrate the Divine praises, to put himself at the head of them, to direct them, in singing praise to Him that was then giving them rain, and to intermingle due encomiums on the prince that had permitted the extermination of the priests of Baal ; or if he had none such, yet if it had been practised in those times, and was thought graceful and becoming a prince, nothing forbad Elijah's doing it alone : and perhaps what is said concerning the singers of the contemporary king of Judah, 2 Chron. xx. 21, 22., may enable us to guess, whether or no it was a practice totally unknown at that time. The expression of the Divine historian, that *the hand of the Lord was upon him*, perfectly agrees to this thought ; for it appears, from 2 Kings iii. 15., that it signifies enabling a Prophet to prophesy : and consequently we are rather to under-

stand these words, of God's stirring him up to the composing, and singing, of some proper hymns on this occasion, than the mere enabling him to run with greater swiftness than his age would otherwise have permitted him to do; in which sense alone, I think, commentators have understood that clause.

OBSERVATION XLV.

The Easterns often change their Garments in Token of Respect.

It is reckoned in the East, according to Dr. Pococke,* a mark of respect often to change their garments, in the time of a visit for a night or two. He expresses himself however with obscurity, and some uncertainty; but it is made certain by the accounts of other travellers that it is a matter of state and magnificence.

So Thevenot tells us, that when he saw the Grand Seignior go to the new mosque, he was clad in a satin doliman of a flesh colour; and a vest of almost the same colour; but when he had said his prayers, then he changed his vest, and put on one of a particular kind of green.† At another time he went to the mosque in a vest of crimson velvet, but returned in one of a fire-red satin.‡

To this frequent change of vestments among the great, possibly the Psalmist alludes, when, speak-

* See his account of their diet and visits, Vol. I. p. 182, &c.

† Part I. p. 86.

‡ P. 87.

ing of the LORD of all, he says, the heavens, unchangeable as they are when compared with the productions of the earth, shall perish, while He shall remain ; yea, they shall be laid aside, in comparison of His immortality, as soon as a garment grows old ; or rather, this change which they shall undergo, shall come on more speedily, with respect to His eternity, than the laying aside of a vestment which kings and princes change often in a day. The changing of clothes is a piece of Eastern magnificence : how wonderfully sublime then, in this view, is this representation of the grandeur of God, *Thou shalt change these heavens as a prince changes his vesture,*

OBSERVATION XLVI.

New Clothes used in Times of rejoicing.

THE putting on new clothes is also thought, by the people of the East, to be very requisite for the due solemnization of a time of rejoicing, and indeed almost necessary.

The Khaliff Mostanser Billah, going up one day to one of the highest parts of his palace, according to d'Herbelot, “ saw the greatest parts of the flat-roofs of the houses of Bagdat, his capital, spread with clothes of different kinds ; and being told by his Vizier, upon his asking the reason of it, that the inhabitants of Bagdat were drying their clothes, which they had newly washed on the account of the approach of the Beiram, which is a very solemn Mohammedan festival, Mostanser was

so concerned, that they were so poor as to be obliged to wash their old clothes, for want of new ones, with which to celebrate this festival, that he ordered a great quantity of gold to be instantly made into bullets, proper to be shot out of cross-bows, which he and his courtiers threw, by this means, upon every terrace upon the city where he saw their garments laid a drying.”* Agreeably to this Hasselquist tells us,† “the Turks, even the poorest of them, must absolutely have new clothes at their Beiram.”‡

New clothes then were thought very necessary for the solemnization of a stated Eastern festival. It will appear, in the sequel, that those that are occasional were observed in the same manner.

Commentators have taken notice, that the *rending* mentioned by Solomon, Eccles. iii. 7., refers to the Oriental modes of expressing sorrow; but they seem to think, that the *sewing* signifies nothing more than the terminating, perhaps nothing more than the abating, of affliction. Maimonides is quoted on this occasion, as saying, He that mourns for a father, &c. let him stitch up the rent of his garment at the end of thirty days, but never let him sew it up well. As the other cases, however, are as directly opposite as possible, is it not more probable that a season of joy is here meant, in contrast to a time of bitter grief, than merely of some abatement of distress? And that by *a time of sewing* is meant a time of making up new vest-

* P. 400.

† P. 632.

‡ A great festival with them, answering our Easter, for it follows their month of fasting.

ments, rather than a slight tacking together the places of their clothes, which were torn in the paroxysm of their grief?

Thus when Jacob supposed he had lost his son Joseph, *he rent his clothes* for grief, Gen. xxxvii. 34.: while the time of preparing for the circumcision of the son of Ishmael, the Basha of Egypt when Maillet lived there, must have been a time of great sewing. For the rejoicing on that occasion lasted, it seems, “ten days; and on the first day of the ceremony the whole household of the Basha appeared in new clothes,* and were very richly dressed. Two vests of different coloured satin had been given to every one of his domestics, one of English cloth, with breeches of the same, and a lining of fur of a Moscovite fox. The meanest slave was dressed after this sort with a turban, of which the cap was of velvet, or English cloth, and the other part adorned with gold. The pages had large breeches of green velvet, and short vests of gold brocade. Those of higher rank were more richly dressed; and there was not one of them but changed his dress two or three times during the solemnity. Ibrahim, the young lord that was to be circumcised, appeared on the morning of the first day, clothed in a half-vest of white cloth, lined with a rich fur, over a doliman of Venetian cloth of gold; and over this half-vest he wore a robe of fire-coloured camblet, lined with a green tabby. This vest, or *quiriqui*, was embroidered with pearls of a large size,

* Descript. de l’Egypte, Let. x.

and fastened before with a clasp of large diamonds. Through all the time the solemnity lasted, Ibrahim changed his dress three or four times a day, and never wore the same thing twice, excepting the quiriqui with its pearls, which he put on three or four times." I need not go on with Maillet's account; it is sufficiently evident, that the time of preparing for this rejoicing was a time of *sewing*. To the Patriarch Jacob it was a time of *rending*, when he apprehended his son was dead; to the Basha Ishmael, the circumcision of his son was a time of *sewing*, for that solemnity gives Eastern parents exquisite joy; and the making up great quantities of clothes is one of the methods they make use of to express that joy.

OBSERVATION XLVII.

The Dress of Brides often changed during the Marriage Solemnity.

BRIDES also in the East frequently change their dress, and upon such a change are presented anew each time to the bridegroom.

This is d'Arvieux's account of the Arabs. "When the evening is come, the women present the bride to her future husband. The women who conduct her make him a compliment, who answers not a word, sitting perfectly still, with a grave and serious air. This ceremony is three times repeated the same evening; and whenever they change the bride's dress they present her to the bridegroom,

who receives her with the same gravity. It is a sort of magnificence in the East frequently to dress and undress the bride, and to cause her to wear in that same day all the clothes made up for her nuptials. The bridegroom's dress also is frequently changed for the same reason."*

When he says it is a sort of magnificence in the East to do this, he seems to affirm that the management is not peculiar to the Arabs, but common in those countries. The Arabian Nights' Entertainments confirm this,† frequently mentioning this changing of the bride's dress, and the presenting her when new-dressed to the bridegroom.

The attending to this circumstance throws an energy over the words of St. John, which I do not remember to have seen any where noticed: *I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride for her husband*, Rev. xxi. 2.

Sir J. Chardin, in his manuscript which I have so frequently quoted, supposes the decorations and attitude the Prophet gives‡ to Aholibah, or Jerusalem, are those of a bride. It is precisely after this manner the bride receives her husband in Asia: they carry her to a bath: they afterwards adorn her magnificently; they paint, they perfume her; they carry her to the nuptial chamber; they place her upon a bed; they set a smoking some incense-pots, and serve up sweetmeats upon a table placed before her. The bed is a mattress

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 225.

† No. 100, 101, 102, 103, &c.

‡ Ezek. xxiii. 40, 41.

with its covering, laid upon the carpet, with large cushions placed at her back and her sides, which our authors every where mean by the word bed, when they are speaking of the East, and are used on all occasions there among the great, at feasts, at visits, &c.

OBSERVATION XLVIII.

Curious Criticism on Psalm cxxiii. 2.

WHEN Bishop Patrick supposes the words of the Psalmist,* *Behold, as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress: so our eyes wait upon the LORD our GOD, until that he have mercy upon us*, as signifying, We submit ourselves to this severe punishment, as poor slaves do to the stroke of their offended master or mistress—resolving to bear it patiently, till thou, our LORD, who dost inflict it, wilt be pleased, &c. he does not seem to have formed conceptions lofty enough of the state assumed by superiors in the East, and especially by princes, when he supposes the great King of kings punishing Israel with His own hands.

On the other hand, Sir J. Chardin's MS. note on the place does not give us a complete view of the thought of the Psalmist. He tells us, "It is taken from a custom made use of amongst all the great in the East, especially in Asia Minor, I mean

* Psal. cxxiii. 2.

the Turks; there, every order is given by a sign of the hands. From hence the mutes of the Seraglio. The same obtains in the Persian court." This is the same with the first of the four explanations that are given us in Pool's Synopsis. But did the Psalmist mean to represent the Israelites as saying, they would attentively observe all the orders God should give them, and set themselves to obey them, till the affliction they groaned under should be removed? Was their attention then to cease?

The true explanation, I apprehend, is this: As a slave, ordered by a master or mistress to be chastised for a fault, turns his or her imploring eyes to that superior, till that motion of the hand appears that puts an end to the bitterness that is felt; so our eyes are put up to thee, our God, till thy hand shall give the signal for putting an end to our sorrows: for our enemies, O LORD! we are sensible, are only executing thy orders, and chastening us according to thy pleasure.

OBSERVATION XLIX.

Remarkable Condescension sometimes shewn by the Eastern Nobles.

NOTWITHSTANDING there is so much distance kept up between superiors and inferiors in these countries, and such solemnity and awfulness in their behaviour, which my reader must often have remarked; yet we find them, in some cases, more condescending than the great among us.

The polite editor of the Ruins of Balbec takes notice of the gentleness and humanity with which the great, in the Levant, temper the insolence of power to the stranger under their roof, with a sort of admiration :* but he is not explicit enough for my purpose ; nor are those softenings only in the case of strangers. Dr. Pococke is more ample, and speaks of the admission of their poor to their tables. So in his account of a great entertainment, made by the governor of an Egyptian village for the cashif,† with whom he travelled, he says, the custom was for every one, when he had done eating, to get up, wash his hands, and take a draught of water : and so in a continual succession, till the poor came in, and eat up all ; for that the Arabs never set by any thing that is brought to table, so that when they kill a sheep, they dress it all, call in their neighbours, and the poor, and finish every thing.‡ That author afterwards mentions what is still more surprising : for in giving an account of the diet of the Eastern people, p. 182, &c. he informs us, that an Arab prince will often dine in the street before his door, and call to all that pass, even beggars, in the usual expression of *Bismillah*, that is, *in the name of God* ; who come and sit down, and when they have done, retire with the usual form of returning thanks.

The picture then which our LORD exhibits, Luke xiv., of a king's making a great feast, and, when the guests refused to come, sending for the

* P. 4.

† The governor of a district in that country.

‡ Vol. I. p. 57.

poor, the maimed, the blind, is not so unlike life, as perhaps we have been ready to imagine.*

OBSERVATION L.

Females often express their Joy by clapping their Hands.

THE present female way of expressing joy in the East, by gently applying one of their hands to their mouths, seems to have obtained in the times of remote antiquity, and to be meant in several places of Scripture.

What their present custom is, appears in the following passage of Pitts, describing the joy with which the leaders of their sacred caravans are received, in the several towns of Barbary through which they pass: "This emir Hagge, into whatsoever town he comes, is received with a great deal of joy, because he is going about so religious a work; and it is, who can have the favour and honour of kissing his hand, or but his garment! He goes attended in much pomp, with flags, kettle-drums, &c.; and loud acclamations do, as it were, rend the skies; nay, the very women get upon the tops of the houses to view the parade, or fine show, where they keep striking their four fingers on their lips, as fast as they can, making a joyful noise all the while, which sounds somewhat like

* St. Luke does not mention the quality of him that made the feast; but St. Matthew, in what is supposed to be his account of the same parable, calls him a king, chap. xxii. 2.

yow, yow, yow, hundreds of times ”* Others have given us nearly the same account.

This seems to me to be referred to in some passages of Scripture ; and that the sacred writers suppose two different methods of expressing joy by a quick motion of the hand, which is lost in our translation : for I suppose the clapping of the hands, in the plural, is a very distinct thing from the clapping the hand, in the singular, though our translators have confounded them together.

The striking one hand against the other with some smartness, which we mean by the term *clapping of the hands*, might, and I believe did, obtain anciently, as an expression of joy ; not unfrequently, if not always, of the malignant kind : so the Prophet Jeremiah says of Jerusalem, when it was destroyed, *All that pass by, clap their hands at thee ; they hiss and wag their head at the daughter of Jerusalem, saying, Is this the city that men call the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth ?* Lam. ii. 15. In like manner Job, after describing the sudden destruction of the wicked, says, *Men shall clap their hands at him, and shall hiss him out of his place,* Job xxvii. 23.

But other words, which our version translates *clapping the hands*, signify the applying only one hand [somewhere, with softness, as a testimony, in common, of a joy of a more agreeable kind. They that consult the original will find the singular, not the plural, is made use of Psa. xlvii. 1,

* Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammedans, 4th ed. p. 85.

O clap your hands (your hand) all ye people, כל העמים תקעו כף kol haammeem tikeoo kaf, shout unto God with the voice of triumph ; and in like manner, 2 Kings xi 12., He brought forth the king's son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony ; and they made him king, and anointed him ; and clapt their hands (but in the original they clapt the hand,) and said, God save the king,

We use the term *clap* : but sometimes, where the word *hand* is used in the singular number, it is joined with a verb that strongly expresses an applying the hand with softness, wherever it is that we suppose the hand, in such cases, is applied, and consequently the term *clap*, I think, should not be the word made use of, in translating these passages, at least without a softening epithet. So Isa. lv. 12., *The mountains and the hills shall break forth into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap (or gently apply) the hand, not their hands.** For the word is used

* כף ימחאו *yimchao kaf*. The root מחה *machah*, signifies to wipe, smooth off, sweep away ; and seems to signify, in some of the above passages, that action which dumb persons make use of when they wish to express a thing done or finished, a person who is gone away, gone off, or a thing that is lost : they hold the left hand open in a horizontal position ; and then with the open right hand, wipe it off smartly from the palm to the finger ends. I have seen the Asiatics use this form when they wished more forcibly to express that a thing was over, gone, finished, ended, &c.—EDIT.

The same word is used Psal. xcvi. 2., and *hand* is in the singular number ; and both these observations are, in like manner, applicable to Ezek. xxv. 6., where indeed the joy was not

for blotting out what is written in a book, by applying water to it, Numb. v. 23., which is wont to be done with a sponge, or some other soft substance ; and for compassionately wiping away tears from the face, Isa. xxv. 8. : and consequently must signify, one would imagine, a gentle application of the hand somewhere, and therefore probably to the mouth, according to the present Eastern mode, among the women, of testifying joy.*

OBSERVATION LI.

Dancing and Music used in doing Persons Honour.

THE dancing and playing on instruments of music, before persons of distinction, when they pass near the dwelling-places of such as are engaged in country business, still continue in the East.

When the Baron de Tott was sent by the

of that placid kind, which the expression commonly imports.

HARM.

* The female mode of expressing exultation is termed the *Ziraleet* in Syria : it is a sharp loud cry of joy, made in concert by a quick and somewhat tremulous application of the tongue to the palate, producing the sound *heli li li li li li li* : or *Lillè, lillè, lillè*, pronounced as often as a person can do in one breath. It seems to be a corruption of the Mohammedan confession of faith, *La Ullah illa ullah*, THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD, which, in the rapid shrill pronunciation of the women, might be easily converted into the *Lillè lillè* of the *Ziraleet*. See Russell, Vol. I. p. 140. and 383.—EDIT.

French government, to inspect the factories of that nation in the Levant, having proceeded from Egypt to the maritime cities of Syria, he went from them to Aleppo; and returning from thence to Alexandretta, in order to visit Cyprus, and some other places of which he has given an account in his memoirs, he tells us, that between Aleppo and Alexandretta* he saw, on a sudden, the troop the governor of Aleppo had sent with him, to escort him, turn back and ride towards him. “The commander of the detachment† then shewed me the tents of the Turcomans, pitched on the banks of the lake, near which we were to pass.—It was no easy task to keep my company in good spirits, within sight of six or seven thousand Asiatics, whose peaceable intentions were at least doubtful.

“I took care to cover my escort with my small troop of Europeans; and we continued to march on, in this order, which had no very hostile appearance, when we perceived a motion in the enemy’s camp, from which several of the Turcomans advanced to meet us; and I soon had the musicians of the different hordes playing and dancing before me all the time we were passing by the side of their camp.”‡

The translation does not determine, whether these musicians were of the male or female sex; but I doubt not but that it would appear, on consulting the original French, that they were women

* Two well-known cities of Syria.

† Consisting of a hundred horsemen.

‡ Memoirs, Part iv. p. 131, 132.

that played and danced before M. de Tott, the French inspector, while passing along the side of that large encampment.

We cannot after this wonder at the account of the sacred historian,* that when Saul and David were returning from the slaughter of Goliath, the great hero of the Philistines, *the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet king Saul, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music.* That is, as I apprehend, the women of the several villages of Israel near which he passed, in returning to his settled abode, universally paid him the honour of singing and playing before him for some considerable way, while he passed along in the road near to them. All Israel were engaged in rural employments, as well as these Turcomans.

De Tott ascribes the honours paid him by these Asiatics to the hope of a reward: "I took leave of them, by presenting them with that reward, the hope of which had brought them to attend us, and with which they were very civil to go away contented."† I would remark, that the Eastern princes sometimes cause money to be scattered in processions on joyful occasions, according to this very writer:‡ however the satisfaction that succeeded great terror, upon the death of Goliath, was enough to engage the Israelitish women universally to pay this honour to their own king, and an heroic youth of their own nation, who had been

* 1 Sam. xviii. 6.

† P. 132.

‡ Part I. p. 123, 124.

the instrument of effecting such a great salvation for their country, without any lucrative considerations whatever.

OBSERVATION LII.

Some Account of the ancient Eastern Dances.

THE Eastern dances, with which the great in those countries have been sometimes honoured, are extemporaneous, if I may be indulged the expression, as well as their songs.

I have elsewhere taken notice of the extemporaneousness of their songs ; and I will here set down, a passage, from the letters of lady Wortley Montague, which shews their dances are equally free. “ Their manner of dancing is certainly the same that Diana is said to have danced on the banks of Eurotas. The great lady still leads the dance, and is followed by a troop of young girls, who imitate her steps ; and, if she sings, make up the chorus. The tunes are extremely gay and lively, yet with something in them wonderfully soft. The steps are varied according to the pleasure of her that leads the dance, but always in exact time, and infinitely more agreeable than any of our dances, at least in my opinion. I sometimes make one in the train, but am not skilful enough to lead. These are the Grecian dances, the Turkish being very different.”*

This gives us a different apprehension of the

meaning of the words in Exod. xv. 20., than we should otherwise form : *Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand ; and all the women went out after her, with timbrels and dances.* She led the dance ; they imitated her steps, which were not conducted by a set well known form, as with us, but extemporaneous. Probably David did not dance *alone* before the LORD, when the ark was removed, but led the dance in the same authoritative kind of way.*

Lady Montague was so struck with this Eastern management, though she cites Homer, and tells us these were Grecian dances, yet she could not help observing too, that these Eastern manners gave great light into passages of Scripture.

OBSERVATION LIII.

Description of a Maronite Wedding.

WHEN Jeremiah speaks of the changing the stillness of desolation into the voice of joy and gladness, where numerous inhabitants dwell, and mentions among others, *the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride,*† we certainly are not to understand him of the bridegroom, and still less of the bride, personally considered ; but of their attendants. Youthful modesty would lead us to such an interpretation, had the Prophet been speaking of these western parts of the world ; but

* 2 Sam. vi. 24, 25.

† Ch. xxxiii. 11.

the decencies of Eastern life absolutely require such an explanation.

“ There being nothing very material,” says Dr. Russell, “ in the ceremonies of the different sects, I shall give the description of a Maronite wedding, which will serve as a specimen of the rest.

“ After the bride has been demanded, the relations of the bridegroom are invited to an entertainment at the house of the bride’s father, in order to consult with her relations (for the young folks themselves have no vote in such affairs, nor are ever seen,) concerning the proper day for celebrating the wedding ; and it is almost always agreed on for that day fortnight. On the appointed day, in the afternoon, they again go to the bride’s house ; and, having supped there, return to that of the bridegroom, who hitherto has not appeared, though some little enquiry has been made after him ; for he is by custom obliged to hide himself, or at least is not to be found without a seemingly strict search. When he is brought out dressed in his worst clothes, great noise and rejoicings are then made on the finding him ; and he and the bride’s man, after being led several times round the court-yard, in noisy procession, are carried into a room, where their wedding-clothes are laid out in form. A priest says a long prayer over them ; and, being dressed, they are led back into the court-yard with the same ceremony as before.

“ At midnight, or a few hours later, the relations, accompanied by all that have been invited to the wedding, men and women, return once more to the house where the bride is, in procession,

each carrying a candle, and music playing before them. When they come to the door, it is shut upon them ; and when they knock and demand the bride, they are refused admittance. Upon this ensues a mock fight ; but the bridegroom's party always prevails. The women then go to the bride's chamber, lead her out veiled quite over, and in the like procession carry her to the bridegroom's ; but not more than one or two of her sisters, or nearest female relations, must accompany her. She is there set down at the upper end of the room among the women, continues veiled with a red gauze, and must sit like a statue, neither moving nor speaking on any account, except rising to every person that comes into the room, which is notified to her by one of the women who sits by her constantly, for she must not open her eyes. The rest of the night is spent by each sex in their separate apartments in noisy mirth, eating fruits and sweetmeats, there being no want of wine and arrack. Some few retire to rest.

“ The next day, about nine in the morning, the Bishop or priest comes to perform the ceremony.— The ceremony being finished, the bridegroom, and all the men, retire again to their proper apartment, where they drink coffee, and sit very gravely, while the Bishop remains, which is not long ; for dinner being served up immediately for him, and a few select people of the company, he soon dines, and takes his leave ; and he is scarcely gone a few yards from the house, before their noisy mirth begins. Great quantities of victuals are dressed, and several tables covered, both for dinner and

supper; and there is usually a profusion of tobacco, coffee, and arrack.

“ About eleven or twelve at night, the bridegroom is led in procession to the bride’s chamber, where he presents her with a glass of wine, in which she drinks to him, and he returns the compliment: after this he is carried back again with the same ceremony.

“ The music, during the whole of the time, continues to play, buffoons and other of their diversions are going forward, and the house is usually full of company till the next day in the afternoon, when they take their leave, all but a few intimate friends, who sup with the bridegroom, and about midnight leave him heartily fatigued to retire to the bride’s chamber.

“ All those who have been invited to the wedding send presents; and for several days after the marriage is consummated, quantities of flowers are sent to the bride by all the women of their acquaintance.”*

OBSERVATION LIV.

Different Methods of expressing their Joy.

BESIDES the voice of domestic gladness and joy on nuptial occasions, instead of the melancholy silence of desolation, which Jeremiah assured them should be heard again in that country, and which was to take place not only in Jerusalem, but

* Descript. of Aleppo, Vol. II. p. 48.

in the other Jewish cities, the Prophet seems to me to assure them there should be a return of seasons of rejoicing on public occasions, such as victory over enemies ; as also of the music and the songs wont to attend the presenting peace-offerings before God : *Again there shall be heard in this place—the voice of joy and the voice of gladness ; (the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride) the voice of them that shall say, Praise the LORD of Hosts, for the LORD is good, for his mercy endureth for ever ; and of them that shall bring the sacrifice of praise into the house of the LORD.* Jer. xxxiii. 10, 11.

There is something pleasing in this enumeration of particulars, if we consider them as expressive of rejoicing on domestic, public, and sacred occasions.

It is certain that when Jehoshaphat led forth Judah to assured victory, he made use of such a form of praise as we find in the middle of this verse : *Upon Jehaziel, the son of Zechariah, &c. came the Spirit of the LORD in the midst of the congregation ; And he said, Hearken ye, all Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem, and thou king Jehoshaphat, Thus saith the LORD unto you, Be not afraid nor dismayed, by reason of this great multitude ; for the battle is not your's, but God's. And when he (Jehoshaphat) had consulted with the people, he appointed singers unto the LORD, and that should praise the beauty of holiness,**

* The temple : which God honoured, as the place where he was found to be a present help in time of trouble, and which holy place was remarkable for its beauty.

as they went out before the army, and to say, *Praise the LORD, for his mercy endureth for ever.* 2 Chron. xx. 14—21. He and his people, after the affair was actually accomplished, assembled together in or near the place where their enemies were slaughtered, to praise the LORD, and afterwards went in solemn procession to Jerusalem, with joy it is said, with psalteries, and harps, and trumpets, unto the house of the LORD, ver. 26, 27, 28. And as no account is given of any new formulary of thanksgiving, probably the same was made use of as in their first outset: *Praise the LORD, for his mercy endureth for ever.*

These sounds of joy and gladness might as well be heard in the other cities of Judea, as in Jerusalem, as well as those accompanying nuptial solemnities. Jehoshaphat seems to have passed through the cities of his country, with music and with hymns, to Jerusalem. So the women went out from their several cities to meet king Saul, when he returned from the slaughter of Goliath, with singing and dancing, with tabrets, with joy, and instruments of music, 1 Sam. xviii. 6. But could the third sort, relating to the bringing the sacrifice of praise into the house of the LORD, be heard in the cities of Judah, as well as in the streets of Jerusalem.*

Such a supposition, I would answer, is not necessary. It was sufficient if the sounds of joy in general were heard from time to time through the country, without supposing that every species of gladness should appear in every town.

* See ver. 10. of Jer. xxxiii.

However it is not at all improbable, that the music and the hymns attending the bringing the sacrifice of praise to the Temple were heard in other cities, as well as in the streets of Jerusalem, and that the *gladness of the heart* mentioned by Isaiah, *when people went with a pipe, to go into the mountain of the LORD, to the mighty one of Israel*,* might be heard in the town from whence they set out, and in the cities through which they passed, as well as when they entered the holy city.

I do not remember that Lightfoot has given any account of the music attending them, at any other time when they carried their oblations to the Temple, but when they passed along the streets of Jerusalem: but when we consider how common the use of music is now in the East, and what in particular is practised there in their sacred journies, I should suppose music and hymns attended their setting out with oblations to the house of God, and that the like sounds of joy and gladness attended them as they passed through their towns, more especially if it was the sacrifice of some more eminent personage, or of some considerable body of people.

So Pitts tells us, that into whatsoever town of Barbary the caravan for Mecca enters, the leader is received with a great deal of joy, because he is going about so religious a work. He goes attended with flags; kettle-drums, and loud acclamations, do, as it were, rend the skies.†

* Chap. xxxiii. 29.

† P. 85.

OBSERVATION LV.

Music and Singing used in honouring Superiors.

THE music of great men in civil life has been sometimes directed to persons of a sacred character, as an expression of respect, in the East: perhaps the playing of the minstrel before the Prophet Elisha is to be understood, in part, at least, in something of the same manner.

When Dr. Richard Chandler was at Athens, the Archbishop of that city was upon ill terms with its Vaiwode; and the Greeks in general siding with the Vaiwode, the Archbishop was obliged to withdraw for a time; but some time after, when Chandler and his fellow-travellers were at Corinth, they were informed that the Archbishop was returned to Athens; that the Bey or Vaiwode had received him kindly, and ordered his musicians to attend him at his palace; and that a complete revolution had happened in his favour.*

Here we see a civil magistrate, who had been displeased with a great ecclesiastic, sent his musicians to play at his archiepiscopal palace, in honour of him to whom this magistrate was now reconciled. Elisha might require that a like honour should be done to him, and through him to the God whom he served, who had been sadly neglected and affronted in former times by the king of Israel. The propriety of it will appear in a still

* Travels in Greece, p. 244.

stronger light, if we should suppose, that Elisha commanded the minstrel to sing, along with his music, a hymn to **JEHOVAH**, setting forth his being a God that gave rain, that preserved such as were ready to perish, the giver of victory, and whose power was neither limited to his Temple, nor to the Jewish country sacred to him, but equally operative in every place.

The coming of the Spirit of prophecy upon Elisha, enabling him to declare a speedy copious fall of rain in that neighbourhood, and a complete victory over their enemies, immediately upon the submissive compliance of this idolatrous prince with the requisition of the Prophet, and such a hymn in praise of the God of Israel, seems to me full as natural an interpretation, as the supposing he desired the minstrel to come in order to play some soft composing tune, to calm his ruffled spirits, and to qualify him for the reception of the influences of the Spirit of prophecy.

Was a warm and pungent zeal against the idolatries of Jehoram a disqualifying disposition of soul? * and if it were, was mere music the happiest mode of inviting the Divine influences? Yet after this manner, I think, it has been commonly explained. †

Singing was, and is, so frequently joined with the sound of musical instruments in the East that no

* The anger of Elisha, occasioned by the profane mockery of some unhappy youths, did not prevent his prophetically declaring the vengeance of God upon them, which effectually took place, 2 Kings ii. 23, 24.

† See Bishop Patrick on the place.

one will think it strange, that I suppose the minstrel sung as well as played in the presence of Elisha :* and when it is recollected that their songs are very frequently extemporaneous, it is natural to suppose the Prophet required something to be sung, suitable both to his character and to the occasion.

OBSERVATION LVI.

A Spear in the Hand, or a Standard carried before a Person, are Marks of Honour.

THOUGH mean people in travelling might make use of trees for shelter from the heat, we may perhaps think it almost incredible that kings should imagine that either proper houses would be marked out for their reception ; or if that could not be conveniently done in some of their routs, that at least they would have tents carried along with them, as persons of more than ordinary rank and condition are supposed by Dr. Shaw now to do.† For these reasons we may possibly have been extremely surprised at that passage concerning Saul, 1 Sam. xxii. 6., *Now Saul abode in Gibeah, under a tree in Ramah, or, according to the margin, under a grove in a high place, having his spear in his hand ; and all his servants were standing*

* 1 Sam. xxiii. 6, 7. Isa. xxiii. 15, 16. Psa. xcvi. 5, &c. Shaw, Tome I. Part III. § 4.

† Pref. p. 8.

about him. Yet strange as this may appear to us, it is natural enough according to the present customs of the East, where we know the solemnity and awfulness of superiority is kept up as high as ever.

Thus when Dr. Pococke was travelling in the company of the governor of Faiume, who was treated with great respect as he passed along, they passed one night, he tells us,* in a grove of palm-trees. The governor might, no doubt, had he pleased, have lodged in some village ; but he rather chose a place which we think very odd for a person of figure. The position of Saul, which was on a high place according to the margin, reminds me of another passage of this author,† where he gives us an account of the going out of the Caya, or lieutenant of the governor of Meloui, on a sort of Arab expedition, towards a place where there was an ancient temple, attended by many people with kettle-drums and other music : the Doctor visited that temple, and upon his return from it went to the Caya, he says, “ whose carpet and cushions were laid on a height, on which he sat with the standard by him, which is carried before him when he goes out in this manner. I sat down with him, and coffee was brought ; the Sadar himself‡ came afterwards as incognito.” Saul seems, by the description given, as well as by the following part of the history, to have been pursuing after David, and stopping, to have placed himself according to the present Oriental mode in the pos-

* Vol. I. p. 56. † P. 127. ‡ That is, the governor.

ture of chief. Whether the spear in his hand, or at his hand, (as it might be translated according to Noldius, and as appears by the use of that prefix in Ezek. x. 15.,) was the same thing to Saul's people that the standard was to those of the Caya, I know not: if it was, there is a third thing in this text illustrated by the Doctor's accounts, the *stopping under a tree or grove*; the *stopping on a high place*; and the sacred historian's remark, that *he had his spear by him*. It is certain, that when a long pike is carried before a company of Arabs, it is a mark that an Arab Sheikh (or prince) is there, which pike is carried before him; and when he alights, and the horses are fastened, the pike is fixed, as appears by a story in Norden.

OBSERVATION LVII.

Letters sent to Superiors are made up in a peculiar and costly Style.

NORDEN tells us,* that when he and his company were at Essuaen, an express arrived there, dispatched by an Arab prince, who brought a letter directed to the Reys, (or master of their barque,) enjoining him not to set out with his barque, or carry them any farther; adding, that in a day's time he should be at Essuaen, and there would give his orders relative to them. "The letter, however, according to the usage of the Turks,"

* Vol. II. p. 8. See also p. 71.

says this author, "was open: and as the Reys was not on board, the pilot carried it to one of our fathers to read it."*

Sanballat's sending his servant with an open letter, which is mentioned Neh. vi. 5., does not appear an odd thing; but if it was according to their usages, why is this circumstance complained of, as it visibly is? Why indeed is it mentioned at all? Why! Because, however the sending letters open to common people may be customary in these countries, it is not according to their usages to send them so to people of distinction. So Dr. Pococke, in his account of that very country where Norden was when this letter was brought, gives us, among other things, in the 57th plate, the figure of a Turkish letter put into a satin bag, to be sent to a great man, with a paper tied to it directed and sealed, and an ivory button tied on the wax. So Lady Montague says, the basha of Belgrade's answer to the English ambassador, going to Constantinople, was brought to him in a purse of scarlet satin.†

The great emir indeed of the Arabs, according to d'Arvieux, was not wont to inclose his letters in these bags, any more than to have them adorned with flourishes; but that is supposed to have been owing to the unpoliteness of the Arabs; and he tells us, that when he acted as secretary to the emir, he supplied these defects, and that his doing so was highly acceptable to the emir.‡ Had this open letter then come from Geshem, who was an

* P. 109.

† Letters, Vol. I. p. 136.

‡ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 58.

Arab,* it might have passed unnoticed ; but as it was from Sanballat, the inclosing it in a handsome bag was a ceremony Nehemiah had reason to expect from him, since he was a person of distinction in the Persian court, and then governor of Judea.; and the not doing it was the greatest insult, insinuating, that though Nehemiah was, according to him, preparing to assume the royal dignity, he should be so far from acknowledging him in that character, that he would not even pay him the compliment due to every person of distinction.†

If this is the true representation of the affair, commentators have given but a poor account of it. Sanballat sent him a message, says one of them, “pretending, it is likely, special respect and kindness unto him, in informing him what was laid to his charge.”

OBSERVATION LVIII.

Bracelets sometimes Ensigns of Royalty.

WE were speaking lately of Saul, and some marks of dignity by which he was distinguished in

* Neh. vi. 1.

† The MS. &c. gives us a like account of the Eastern letters, adding this circumstance, “that those which are uninclosed, as sent to common people, are usually rolled up; in which form their paper commonly appears.” Note on Jer. xxxvi. 2. A letter in the form of a small roll of paper would appear very odd in our eyes, but it seems is common there.

I have seen several of Tippoo Saheeb’s letters which were done up in this way.—EDIT.

his pursuit after David, if we may put that construction upon them which modern Eastern customs lead us to ; and that engages me to take notice of another circumstance of that sort which commentators have been equally silent about, and that is, his wearing a bracelet at the time of his death. This I take to have been an ensign of royalty ; and in that view, I suppose, we are to understand the account that is given us, of the Amalekite's bringing the bracelet that he found on Saul's arm, along with his crown, to David, 2 Sam. i. 10.

It is not impossible that this bracelet might be no part of the regalia of the kingdom of Israel, but merely a thing of value which Saul had about him, and which that stranger thought fit to present with his crown to David ; but it seems rather to be mentioned as a royal ornament : and it is certain it has been since used in the East as a badge of power. For when the Khalif Cayem Bemrillah granted the investiture of certain dominions to an Eastern prince, which his predecessors had possessed, and among the rest of the city of Baghdad itself, it is said this ceremony of investiture was performed by the Khalif's sending him letters patent, a crown, a chain, and bracelets.*

I do not however find that any of the commentators have taken Saul's bracelet in this light. All the observation that Grotius makes upon it is, that it was an ornament used by the men as well as women of those nations, upon which he cites Numb, xxxi. 50.

* D'Herbelot, p. 541.

The ornament however, probably, was not so common as we may have been ready to suppose ; for though the word bracelet is frequently to be met with in our translation, the original word in this text occurs at most but in two other places ; and as the children of Israel found one or more of these bracelets among the spoils of Midian, so they killed at the same time five of their kings, Numb. xxxi. 8. The place indeed speaks of female ornaments, Isa. iii. 20. ; but if the word is the same, might not the women of that age wear an ornament which, from its likeness to one of the ensigns of royalty, might be called by the same name, as in some countries of late* brides have worn an ornament which has been called a crown, though, that word indisputably, long before that time, marked out the chief badge of royal dignity?

OBSERVATION LIX.

Numerous Lights, curiously disposed, used in doing Persons Honour.

THE slaughter of Saul filled his camp with terror and mourning : before that, it is probable, his tent might sometimes be distinguished by lights ; at least these illuminations are now used in those countries to do honour to princes, and must not here be forgotten.

So the tent of the Bey of Girge, Norden tells

us,* was distinguished from the other tents in that encampment by forty lanterns, suspended before it in form of chequer-work. So Thevenot describing the reception of the new Basha of Egypt under tents, near Cairo, says there were two great trees, on which two hundred lamps hung, at the gate of the little inclosure which surrounded his pavilions, which were lighted in the night-time; and that there was the same before the tents of the principal officers, as in the caravan of Mecca.†

In the East it is *now* a customary thing; if it was the same anciently, perhaps the words of Job might refer to it, chap. xxix. 2, 3.; *Oh! that it were with me as in months past, as in the days when God preserved me: when his candle shined upon my head,* (when I returned prosperous from expeditions against the enemies of my tribe, and had my tent adorned with lamps,) *and I passed through the night by the light of it.*

As to illuminating their houses on occasions of joy, I have elsewhere given an account of it.

OBSERVATION LX.

Chains on the Necks of Camels, &c. Marks of Distinction and Grandeur.

CHAINS about the necks of their camels are mentioned in Judges viii. 26., as a part of the orna-

* Part II. p. 45.

† Part I. p. 160.

ments belonging to the kings of Midian, which were given to Gideon.

Perhaps these chains were like those Bishop Pococke saw in Egypt, hanging from the bridles of the Agas of the seven military bodies of that country, to the breast-plates of the animals on which they rode in the grand procession of the caravan about setting out for Mecca.* Only these were of silver, whereas those of the Midianitish kings were of gold. They were however both, apparently, marks of distinction and grandeur; and probably, were worn in the same manner.

OBSERVATION LXI.

Umbrellas used for the same Purposes.

AN umbrella is a very ancient, as well as honourable defence against the pernicious effects of the scorching beams of the sun in those sultry countries; may we not then suppose, this is that kind of shade the Psalmist refers to in the cxxist Psalm? ver. 5. *The LORD is thy keeper: the LORD is thy shade on thy right hand. The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night.*

Niebuhr, who visited the southern part of Arabia, gives us the following account of a solemn procession of the Iman that resides at Saná, who is a great prince in that part of Arabia, and considered as a holy personage, being descended from

* Vol. I. p. 264.

Mohammed their great prophet. It is well known, that the sultan at Constantinople goes every Friday* to the mosque, if his health will at all admit of it. The Iman of Saná observes also this religious practice with vast pomp. We only saw him in his return, because this was represented to us as the most curious part of the solemnity, on account of the long circuit he then takes, and the great number of his attendants, after their having performed their devotions in other mosques..... The Iman was preceded by some hundreds of soldiers. He, and each of the princes of his numerous family, caused a *mdalla*, or large umbrella, to be carried by his side ; and it is a privilege which, in this country, is appropriated to princes of the blood,† just as the sultan of Constantinople permits none but his vizier to have his *kaïk*, or gondola, covered behind, to keep him from the heat of the sun. They say that in the other provinces of Yemen, the independent lords, such for example as the sheikhs of Jafâ, and those of Haschid u Bekil, the Scherif of Abu Arisch, and many others, cause these *mdallas* in like manner to be carried for their use, as a mark of their independence. Besides the princes, the Iman had in his train at least six hundred lords of the most distinguished rank, as well ecclesiastics as seculars, and those of the military line, many of

* The Sabbath day of all the Mohammedans.

† So at p. 305, he tells us, he saw a young prince at Saná, who had been dispossessed of some territories enjoyed by his father and grandfather, who had his umbrella carried at his side, as he went on horseback to the mosque, one Friday.

them mounted on superb horses ; and a great multitude of people attended him on foot. On each side of the Iman was carried a flag, different from our's, in that each of them was surmounted with a little silver vessel like a censer.* It is said that within some charms were put, to which they attributed a power of making the Iman invincible. Many other standards were unfurled with the same censer-like vessels, but without any regularity. In one word, the whole train was numerous, and in some measure magnificent, but no order seemingly was observed.”†

It appears by the carvings at Persepolis, umbrellas were very anciently used by the Eastern princes ; charms, we have reason to believe, were at least as ancient : may we not, with some degree of probability, suppose then this cxxist Psalm refers to these umbrellas, where the response made, probably by the ministers of the sanctuary, to the declaration of the king in the two first verses, reminded him that JEHOVAH would be to him all that heathen princes hoped for, as to defence and honour, from their royal umbrellas and their sacred charms, but hoped for in vain, as to them? *The Lord shall be thy shade on thy right hand. The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night.*‡

* Une petite cassolette d'argent.

† Voy. Tom. I. p. 337.

‡ There is now before me the *coronet* of a Mohammedan chief from the interior of Africa. It is surrounded with a number of small cushions, each about three inches long, two broad, and one thick : curiosity led me to examine their contents, and I found them to contain a number of *spells* and

OBSERVATION LXII.

Feathers used as Ornaments in the East.

THE feathers of herons and ostriches are now used, in these countries of the East, by way of ornament, and more especially in times of rejoicing: it is reasonable to believe the same obtained anciently, and perhaps as far back as the time of Job.

The Turks, who, according to Baron de Tott, make pomp the characteristic of their nation,* make great use of these two sorts of feathers in days of parade. Thus this writer, in describing what answers among them to the solemnity of a coronation, tells us, that one set of officers, who appeared in that procession, wore an ostrich's feather on the side of their turbans;† and that the led horses of the Grand Seignior were covered with very rich trappings trailing on the ground, leaving nothing to be seen but the head of the animal, of which the front was ornamented by a large plume of heron feathers.‡ Attendants of another description are said to have worn plumes of feathers shaped like a fan, above which towered those the Grand Seignior himself bore.

De Tott has not told us what kind of feathers

charms for the protection of the wearer. They are slips of paper filled with diagrams, and select portions of the Koran, in the African niskh character.—EDIT.

* Memoirs, Part I. p. 235.

† P. 119.

‡ P. 121, 122.

these last were ; but other authors have informed us, that they are those of herons that the Turkish emperor himself wears in his turban, at least upon other solemn occasions. So when Thevenot saw him riding in state, upon occasion of the coming of an ambassador to him from the Great Mogul, he wore in his cap two black heron's tops, adorned with large stones, above two fingers high ; the one stood upright, and the other pointed downwards.*

Such great use is made of ostrich feathers, that Maillet makes it an article of commerce, in the account he gives of what is imported into Egypt by the caravan from Nubia,† which brings with it the merchandize of Ethiopia. “ One can hardly believe,” he says, “ the riches it contains. From divers parts of Africa it brings hither gold-dust, elephants' teeth, ebony, musk, civet, ambergris, ostrich feathers, several kinds of gum, and an infinity of other valuable merchandize. But its most considerable commerce consists of two or three thousand blacks, which the caravans bring to sell in Egypt, each of which, taking them one with another, is not worth less to his master than 200 livres.”‡

Herons' feathers, however, are not a discriminating mark of royalty, and confined to the heads of princes and of their horses ; Thevenot saw them on the head of the new Basha of Egypt when he made his entry into Grand Cairo. “ He wore a

* Travels, Part i. book x. ch. lvii.

† Let. xiii. p. 197.

‡ About eight guineas. There is a mistake here certainly : perhaps there should have been another cypher.

chiaoux cap, with two black heron's tops standing upright upon it.* But they are, I think, only worn in times of prosperity. At least Thevenot remarks, that when his predecessor quitted that government, and departed in a solemn procession, "he wore on his head a chiaoux cap, but without a heron's top."†

As feathers are made use of among the Turks, so they are used among the modern Arabs too. When de la Roque put himself into the dress of an Arab of figure, he had an ostrich feather near the top of his lance;‡ and when the French gentlemen, that waited on the king of Yemen on account of the coffee trade, saw the procession that attended him to his public devotions on the sacred day of the Mohammedans, they observed fifty horses, richly caparisoned, were led in view of the way in which he was to pass, and as many camels perfectly well equipped, which had on their heads large tufts of black ostrich feathers. This was all for parade, and to do honour to the sacred day, for they were only led before him, and several times round the place where he performed his devotions, and put to no other use.§

If then the Arabs of our days make use of feathers in times of joyful and sacred parade; it is by no means unnatural or difficult to suppose, that the Arabs of elder times might do the same, and even the Arabs of the land of Uz in the age of Job: since they are allowed to be a people that have as

* Part i. book ii. chap. 23.

† Chap. xv.

‡ Voy. dans la Palestine, p. 4.

§ Voy. de l'Arabie Heureuse, p. 213.

much, or more than any, retained their old customs, on the one hand ; and since, on the other, the adorning themselves with the most beautiful feathers of the birds of their respective countries, is the common practice of those nations that are the most remote from our modes of civilization, and most nearly approach the state of mankind in the first and rudest ages. The way of adorning themselves made use of by many of the wild tribes of America, as well as that of the inhabitants of many of the new-discovered islands of the South Seas, are an incontrovertible proof of it.

If so, the translation that Aquila has given us, of a clause of a very difficult verse of the book of Job, may be allowed to be sufficiently easy and natural. The verse is the 13th of the xxxixth chapter, and is thus translated in our version : *Gavest thou the goodly wings unto the peacock ? or wings and feathers unto the ostrich ?* or, according to the marginal translation of the last clause, *the feathers of the stork and ostrich.*

Great objections have been made to this translation, and very justly. They are not the wings of the peacock that are remarkably goodly, but the tail ; nor is it the same Hebrew word elsewhere translated peacocks, but a very different one. It is not then at all probable that peacocks were meant here.

Aquila, who has given us an ancient Greek translation of the Old Testament, and who is said to have been exquisitely skilled in the original language, and to have aimed at a very literal version,*

* Carpzovii, Crit. Sac. p. 553—560.

has thus translated the first clause of this verse, Πτερυγιον αιωνων συναναπλεκει, which words may be difficult to translate into English with energy, perspicuity, and conciseness, but seem to mean, the tuft of feathers which somewhat resembles a wing, and which those that are in a state of joy and thanksgiving wear, pleasingly intermixing its filaments when quivering from the motion given it.

The Septuagint themselves, who have declined translating the third word, which Aquila thought meant *interweaving*, or somewhat of that kind, translate the two first words Πτερυξ τερπομενων, “the wing of those that are delighted.” And this is the natural sense of the two first words of the original, viz. כנף רננים *kenaf rananeem*.

Now what can the wing, or the contexture of feathers resembling a wing, of those that are in a state of delight, or of disposedness to praise, more naturally mean, than those tufts of ostrich or heron feathers that are now so commonly worn in those countries, when in such a state. To which is to be added, that both those creatures are, I think, with certainty spoken of in the words immediately following: the חסידה *chasidah*,* (which seems to signify the heron as well as the stork, comprising both species in that single word of description.†) in the latter clause of this 13th verse;

* The Hebrew is as follows: כנף רננים נעלסה אכ אברה חסידה *kenaf renaneem nealasah im ebroah chasidah venotsah*; which Montanus translates thus: *Ala exultantium læta; an penna ciconiæ et pluma?*—EDIT.

† For the chasidah is said, in Psalm civ. 17., to make the fir-trees her house, as other birds made their nests in the cedars

and the ostrich indisputably in the short history given of this animal in the succeeding verses, and which satisfies me must be meant by the last word of the 13th verse, which the Septuagint leave untranslated, using the word Νεσσα to express the Hebrew term.

Nor can this be thought a harsh supposition, if we observe, that one of the three senses of the Hebrew roct, according to Buxtorf, is to be laid waste ; a noun formed from it then may very naturally signify the bird that is the most remarkable of any, by far, for living in desert and waste places.*

I may add, that the celebrated Dr. Shaw, who supposes that the first clause speaks of the wing of the ostrich, not of the wing of those that re-

of Lebanon, which does not appear to be a just description of the stork properly speaking, but truly represents the natural history, in that point, of the heron. It may not be amiss to add, that it appears, by the collections of Lambert Bos on the Septuagint, that Olympiodorus observed, that Aquila always understood the chasidah to mean the heron rather than the stork, as some unskilful people supposed. But the two species resemble each other so much, that it is not improbable, but one Hebrew word stood for both. De Tott, among others, observes, that the stork feeds on serpents, builds its nest on the houses, and is revered by the Orientals, Part II. p. 42. Doubdan, however, supposes that storks in Palestine roost in trees. See the succeeding article.

* Baron de Tott tells us, that the Arabs call the ostrich *daivai-cooshoo*, or the camel-bird ; if then, besides its proper name, which, according to Dr. Shaw, is *naamah*, p. 449. it is called by a periphrasis the camel-bird, it may as well be described in sacred poetry by another—the desert bird. Mem. of de Tott, Part II. p. 41.

joiced, yet understands the last word of the three of that first clause not as signifying *goodly*, as our translators do, but *quivering* or *expanded*, as the very learned Schultens also does ; which agrees as well with what happens to the plumes worn on the heads of those that go in solemn joyful procession, as to what happens to the wings of an ostrich, according to the nice and entertaining observations made by Dr. Shaw on the natural history of that bird, for which the learned world is much obliged to him. Nor is *expanded* and *quivering* very remote from what seems to be the idea of Aquila, who appears to mean the intermixing the filaments of the feathers together, by the joyous motions of those that wore them, in times of pleasurable solemnity.

I would finish this article with observing, that the Septuagint translation of the second clause of this verse, makes the first word of it the second person singular of a verb. This only supposes that a single letter happens to be left out in our modern Hebrew copies, which will not appear at all strange to those that are acquainted with the collections of Dr. Kennicott. And if that alteration is admitted, we may understand the words as signifying :

“ The plume of those that go in joyful procession pleasingly quivers :

“ Hast thou reared up (strengthened) the heron and the ostrich (from whom those feathers are taken) ?”

If we should be unwilling to suppose the custom so ancient as the days of Job, among the peo-

ple of the land of Uz, I imagine it will be hardly contested, that it was known to Aquila, and the elder translators of the Septuagint version; and that they supposed it was probably, at least, as ancient as the time of this celebrated personage of very remote antiquity.

OBSERVATION LXIII.

Persons not possessing the regal Dignity, sometimes honoured by permission to sit on a Throne.

THOUGH a throne and royal dignity seem to be correlates, or terms that stand in reciprocal relation to each other, yet the privilege of *sitting on a throne* has been sometimes granted to those that were not kings, particularly to some governors of important provinces.

In the book of Nehemiah, in like manner, we read of the *throne of the governor of this side the river**—the throne, in other words, the governor for the king of Persia of the provinces belonging to that empire on the west of the Euphrates.

So d'Herbelot tells us,† that a Persian monarch, of after-times,‡ gave the governor of one of his provinces permission to seat himself in a gilded

* Ch. iii. 7. Lysias was in such a situation in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, 1 Mac. iii. 32.

† P. 157. art. Bab al Abuab.

‡ He lived about 600 years after the birth of our Lord, as Nehemiah lived somewhat more than 400 years before.

chair, when he administered justice, which distinction was granted him on account of the importance of that post, to which the guarding a pass of great consequence was committed. This province, he tells us, is now called *Shirvan*, but was formerly named *Serir al dhahab*, which signifies, in Arabic, the throne of gold. To which he adds, that this privilege was granted to the governor of this province, as being the place through which the northern nations were wont to make their way into Persia: on which account also a mighty rampart or wall was raised there.

May we not, agreeably to this account, suppose, that the governor of the provinces on the western side of the Euphrates was looked upon as possessed of a post of the highest consequence, on account of the frequent irruptions of the Egyptian princes, and distinguished by this privilege of sitting on a throne for that cause, perhaps gilded, or otherwise adorned with gold.

And does not his having a palace at Jerusalem, in which perhaps was such a seat for the administration of justice, mark out the great consequence of Jerusalem, in the estimation of the Persian princes of those times, notwithstanding its having been so completely ruined, and but slowly emerging out of the heaps of rubbish into which the army of Nebuchadnezzar had reduced it?

OBSERVATION LXIV.

Shields carried before Persons, a Mark of Honour.

THE word צַנָּה *tsinnah*, used for those martial ensigns of royal dignity, which were carried before King Solomon, and which our version renders *targets*, 1 Kings x. 16., was supposed by the Septuagint to signify spears or lances :* and as the word is to be understood to signify some sharp-pointed weapon, it may be more natural to understand it of a *lance*, than of a defensive piece of armour with a short sharp-pointed umbo in the middle, considering that shields of gold were also carried before this prince, at solemn seasons. One can hardly find a disposition to admit, that two sorts of things, so much alike as targets and shields, should be meant here; and if such similar defensive pieces of armour were hardly meant, the translation of the Septuagint is as natural as any, to say nothing of the authority of so ancient a version, in which, so far as appears by Lambert Bos, all the copies, which frequently disagree in other matters, concur.

But whatever we may think of this way of translating the original word, we can hardly suppose

* Καὶ ἐποίησε Σαλωμων τριακοσια δορατα χρυσα ελατα, 1 Kings (or as in the Septuagint, 3 Kings) x. 16. And Solomon made three hundred spears of beaten gold.—EDIT.

such martial ensigns of honour were unknown in the time when this translation was made. It is certain they now appear in the Levant. Thus Windus, in his description of a pompous cavalcade of the emperor of Morocco, tells us, that after several parties of people were passed, “came Muley Mahomet Lariba, one of the emperor’s sons; he is Alcayde of the stables, or master of the horse; there attended him a guard of horse and foot, at the head of which he rode with a lance in his hand, the place where the blade joins to the wood covered with gold.”*

Soon after which came the emperor himself.

The account of this lance seems to give a clear illustration, of what the Septuagint referred to in their translation of this passage; if not of the original of the Hebrew historian.

A comparatively modern prince of Persia seems to have emulated this piece of grandeur of Solomon, and to have even surpassed it, though by means of a different kind of weapon from either of those I have been mentioning. According to d’Herbelot, he had two troops of horsemen, consisting of a thousand each; one troop carrying maces of gold, each of which weighed one thousand drachms, or thousand crowns of gold; the second, maces of silver of the same weight. These two brigades served him for his ordinary guard; and upon extraordinary ceremonies each of these horsemen carried his mace upon his shoulder.†

* P. 2, 153.

† Bibliotheque Orient. art. Jacoub ben Laith, p. 467.

One tenth part of the number would have been extremely majestic.

OBSERVATION LXV.

*Rich Dresses and costly Furs used in doing honour to Persons of Distinction.**

THE arraying in a rich dress, and making to ride in great pomp and ceremony, were the ancient mode of investing with the highest degree of subordinate power in Egypt, and still remain so, with a small variation, which may give occasion to some speculations.

Thus we find when Pharaoh gave Joseph all power over Egypt under himself, he, among other things, *arrayed him in vestures of fine linenand he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had ; and they cried before him, Bow the knee : and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt.* Gen. xli. 42, 43. On the other hand, in our times, the History of the Revolt of Ali Bey tells us,† that on the election of a new *Sheikh bellet*,‡ the Pasha who approves of him invests him with a valuable fur, treats him with sherbet ; and, when the *Sheikh bellet* departs, the Pasha pre-

* See a similar subject treated of before, Observations xxxiii. xxxiv. xxxv. xxxvi. xxxvii.—EDIT.

† P. 43.

‡ The Sheikh of the country we are told the word signifies, who has the actual government of Egypt under the nominal government of the Pasha, the representative of the Grand Seignior.

sents him with a horse richly caparisoned. He is treated in like manner when he waits upon a new Pasha : when such a Pasha first comes into Egypt, the Pasha gives him a robe of costly fur, and when the *Sheikh bellet* departs gives him a horse richly caparisoned.*

Rich vestments, and riding in great magnificence, were anciently practised : and still take place, as to him that is invested with the highest degree of the actual power of government, under the pre-eminence of another, whose power is oftentimes little more than honorary and nominal. But here lies the difference, which is considerable, and deserves some notice ; Joseph was arrayed in fine linen ; the modern *Sheikh bellet* in robes faced with costly furs : the first rode in the second-best royal chariot ; the others on horses richly caparisoned.

The vestments of fine linen seem to be cool and airy, and fit for so warm a climate as Egypt ; while furred robes seem more suitable to the princes of Russia and the North, where the severity of the winter makes such warm garments highly requisite : nevertheless, we find they now obtain not only in the dresses of ceremony in Europe, but throughout the East too, which seems to intimate that the knowledge of those animals that furnish out the most magnificent furs had not anciently reached these countries ; or at least the manner of preparing them elegantly. For since these things have been discovered, they have every

* P. 32, 33.

where prevailed, as requisite to make princely habits magnificent, and the robes of those in considerable, though far inferior stations, sufficiently honourable.

Accordingly there is not one word of *costly furs* in the Scriptures: blue, or purple and fine linen,* and habits enriched with threads or wires of silver and gold, are the only things mentioned there, relating to the substances that composed their vestments of pomp.†

As to magnificent riding, chariots are not now made use of, either by men, or even the fair sex. It may be difficult to say what this is owing to: whether to the difficulty of their roads: or to the clumsy and unmechanical manner of constructing their carriages; or to a junction of both causes. Certain it is, that they are not now used in these countries: and the magnificence of the furniture of their horses makes up the want of pompous chariots. Anciently, however, chariots were used by the great: they were thought most deadly machines of war;‡ it was courage in war that in those ruder times gave dignity, and seems to have been chiefly looked at in conferring royal honours; it was natural then for their kings to ride in chariots, as their great warriors at that time in common did; which royal chariots were without

* Judges viii. 26. Esth. viii. 15. Jer. x. 9. Luke xvi. 19, &c.

† Exod. xxxix. 3. That royal apparel which Herod Agrippa wore in the theatre of Cæsarea, when struck with death, was, according to Josephus, of silver, Vol. I. p. 950. ed. Hav.

‡ Joshua xvii. 16, 18. Judges i. 19. ch. iv. 3, &c.

doubt most highly ornamented. In the most magnificent of all that Pharaoh had, but one, Joseph was made to ride. But when chariots were laid aside in war, their princes laid aside the use of them by degrees, and betook themselves to horses, as upon the whole most agreeable ; and they endeavoured to transfer the pomp of their chariots to them, and richly indeed they do adorn them.

OBSERVATION LXVI.

Red Shoes and Girdles supposed to have been Marks of Dignity in ancient Times.

THE complaint that David made of Joab to his son Solomon not long before his death, and which was evidently intended, in general, severely to condemn his conduct, does not appear to me to have been properly illustrated by commentators ; at least by none of those whose explanations are given us in Pool's Synopsis.

The murdering Abner and Amasa was highly criminal ; and the more so as done with treachery, and even hypocrisy. But was it any addition to the heinousness of the offence, that some of their blood happened to be sprinkled on his shoes and his girdle, as they seem to suppose ? Would he not have been equally criminal had not a single drop reached him, but all had either fallen on the earth, or stained the raiment of some by-stander.

I am inclined to think, the true sense of this part of the complaint against Joab is that he main-

tained himself in the generalship of the army, at the expence of shedding the blood of these two eminent and innocent personages.

To make this out, two preliminary remarks are requisite. The first, that that which is procured at the expence of any man's blood, is spoken of in the strong language of the Old Testament as that person's blood; yea, even if the person lost not his life actually, but only ran a great risk of doing so. The second, that a thing is frequently spoken of as if it were blood, on the account of its being of the colour of blood, or having some other resemblance to it.

The 2 Sam. xxiii. 16, 17., is a proof of the first position, as Joel ii. 31., is of the second. In Samuel we read, *that the three mighty men brake through the host of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Bethlehem, that was by the gate, and took it, and brought it to David: nevertheless he would not drink thereof, but poured it out unto the LORD. And he said, Be it far from me, O LORD, that I should do this: is not this the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives? Therefore he would not drink it.*—As to Joel, he says, *The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood* (into the colour of blood, as it is often seen when darkened in an eclipse,) *before the great and terrible day of the LORD come.*

After these preliminaries, if we only suppose the general of Israel was wont to wear red shoes, and a girdle of that colour, it was natural for an Eastern imagination to speak of them as tinged with blood; especially when those habiliments were

obtained, or continued to be a man's proper dress, by the means of shedding of blood.

Shoes of red leather, I think, are represented by the Prophet Ezekiel, as worn by a female richly arrayed;* and skins dyed of that colour were known and in use in the time of Moses:† it is then by no means an improbable supposition that such red shoes might be worn by Joab, if it was only as a rich part of dress. It might be more, and express his being one of the higher officers of David's army. But if not; if red shoes were only a piece of magnificence common to great people of that time, the red shoes of Joab were continued to him through his shedding the blood of Abner and Amasa; if either of them had lived, he would have been dismissed from his generalship, and the habit of affliction, perhaps of poverty, would have succeeded the pomp of red shoes, and a crimson girdle.

* Ezek. xvi. 10.

† Exod. xxv. 5. ch. xxvi. 14. ch. xxxv. 7, &c. These two, ram-skins dyed red and badgers'-skins, seem to be spoken of as the most precious kinds of leather then used, or commonly known at least. Probably both dyed of the same colour; but if not, if shoes were made of the one for splendor, they might equally of the other. A very learned and ingenious gentleman has made a remark on a passage of a preceding volume, which has some relation to what I am now mentioning, and therefore may here be taken notice of; and that is, that if the dyeing the tails and the hair of the foreheads of buffaloes red be thought to be ornamental, yet how could the black goat's-hair curtains of the tabernacle, under the red ram-skins, improve the appearance, when no longer seen at all? I would answer, certainly they could not, if not seen at all; but, according to their notions they might, if a border of black appeared under the red, in the same manner as white under the black in funeral palls.

I do not know that people were forbidden in the days of David to wear red shoes ; that supposition is by no means necessary ; but it is certain that all the subjects of the modern Turkish empire may not wear just what coloured shoes they please ; and the Baron de Tott tells us, that Sultan Mustapha made regulations of this kind the first object of the exertions of his authority, punishing with great violence and barbarity those Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, who were found clothed in the colours forbidden those three nations. He adds, “ An unfortunate Christian mendicant, who wore an old pair of yellow slippers, just given him by a Turk in charity, was stopt by the Grand Seignior ; and this excuse could not save his life. Every day produced some horror.”* It seems, according to a note on this passage by the Baron, that the Turks only are allowed to wear slippers of yellow leather.

But though the Turks in civil life wear yellow slippers, their janissaries, the principal order of their soldiers, are obliged to wear red shoes, which, with great blue breeches, and a peculiar kind of bonnet, are the distinguishing parts of their dress, according to the same traveller. Their clothes are of what colour they please.

After this we may perhaps more clearly comprehend the meaning of David, when we read those words of instruction he gave to Solomon, whose reign was to be peaceful, and consequently could little want the military talents of Joab: *Thou knowest also, what Joab the son of Seruiah did to*

* Tem. I. p. 125, 126.

*me, and what he did to the two captains of the host of Israel, unto Abner the son of Ner, and unto Amasa, the son of Jether, whom he slew, and shed the blood of war in peace, and put the blood of war upon his girdle that was about his loins, and upon his shoes that were on his feet, 1 Kings ii. 5., I say upon rather than in, and would remark, that it is precisely the same particle as is joined with the word girdle in the Hebrew, and which our translators themselves render there, upon.**

OBSERVATION LXVII.

Different Articles of Dress used among the Ancients.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, precisely to determine the meaning of those three words in Dan. iii. 21., which are translated in our version, *coats, hosen, and hats*; but the words

* I cannot but express my dissent from the forced construction put on the transaction here referred to. David certainly meant no more than merely to state, that the murder was not committed at his instigation, but by the hand of Joab himself, and even while he was expressing friendship for and embracing Amasa; and therefore much stress is laid upon this word, *whom he slew, and shed the blood of war in peace.* For the sacred historian observes, that *Joab took Amasa by the beard to kiss him, and smote him in the fifth rib, and shed out his bowels to the ground, 2 Sam. xx. 9, 10.* Does not every unbiassed reader see (the attitudes of the persons being considered) that the blood must first spring out on Joab's girdle, and then be sprinkled upon his shoes?—EDIT.

seem to me, in general, to point out those badges of honour that were upon these three Jewish heroes, not any parts of their common dress; and if so understood, greater light will be thrown into that part of the story, than will otherwise appear there.*

The words certainly may as well be understood to mean they were thrown with such things about them into the fire, as well as with their common garments; as that they were cast into that terrible fiery furnace, with this part of their common dress, that other, a third thing, and, in one word, all their garments. Why this enumeration of particulars, according to this latter supposition? Would it not have been as well, in that case, to have said at once, they were thrown into the fire with their clothes on?

The old English term *hosen*, which is used to translate the second of these words, was designed by our translators, there is reason to believe, to express drawers, trowsers, or breeches, not stockings, for that was the common meaning of the word in the time in which that version was made, and the word has been so understood by other translators;† not to remark, that the Eastern people in common, appear not to have used stockings. But is it not strange, that it should be remarked by the historian that they were committed to the flames with their breeches on? Would it not have been extremely strange if it had been

* See the note on these *three* Chaldee words at the conclusion of this observation.—EDIT.

† Particularly by Arias Montanus.

otherwise? If they had been divested of their upper garments before they had been thrown into the furnace, certainly such a part of their dress as this would have been left upon them. Decency required it.

In the three other places of Holy Writ in which the word appears,* it is translated *hammer*, and evidently signifies some such instrument; but it is very difficult to conceive, how the same word came to be made use of to express such very dissimilar things as a *hammer*, and a *pair of breeches*.

There will be much the same difficulty, in making out the connexion, if we should suppose this second word means the covering they wore on their heads, as the Septuagint and vulgar Latin translations seem to have done.

Nothing in short can be more indecisive than the translations that have been given of these words. But considering that these three Jews had been set over the province of Babylon, by King Nebuchadnezzar, at the request of Daniel their countryman: that this was a time of great solemnity, when it was to be supposed all officers of state were to appear in their proper habiliments; that Shadrach and his two companions were present on this occasion; I have thought nothing can be more natural, than the supposing these three words signify three particular things, superadded to the garments worn by the people of that country in private stations.

Impressed with this idea, I consulted the plates

* Isa. xli. 7. Jer. xxiii. 29. ch. l. 23.

Sir John Chardin has given us of the carvings that are found in the ruins of Persepolis, which are supposed to have been erected about the time of the Prophet Daniel, in which that eminent traveller has given us a delineation of an ancient Persian sacred procession. Among other figures, I observed one man that had a hammer, or mallet, or some such instrument, in each hand. A variety of other instruments appear in the hands of other persons, of which it must be difficult to give a satisfactory account. But the hammers in so ancient a monument, erected in that country, and carried in a sacred procession there, very much struck me.

Numbers of these figures wore, according to the ancient simplicity, no covering whatever on their heads,* but that which Nature gave them; but others had different kinds of coverings on their heads: but not one resembling our hats, nor the modern Eastern turban; consequently, so far as this ancient monument will be admitted to afford some illustration of that grand assembly, which was convened to consecrate the image of gold, set up by Nebuchadnezzar in the plain of Dura, if one of the three words should signify an artificial covering of the head, as has been commonly supposed, though some understand the second of the words, and others the third, to have that meaning, so little are the learned agreed in determining the signification of these words; I say, supposing one of them should signify a covering of the head, the

* Niebuhr, *Descript. de l'Arabie*, p. 57, gives an account of many of the Arabs wearing only a cord about their heads.

word *hat* in our translation is not proper; nor even the word *turban*, which is put into the margin, that from an apprehension that the name of a modern Eastern coiffure would be more proper here, than one known only in these more western parts of the world.

Antiquity will not, however, determine, with precision, what the shape of that ancient covering of the head was, that these three Jews wore, if it is allowed, that it probably is to be found in this ancient monument, since there are no fewer than four or five different sorts of them, that appear in this delineation of an ancient sacred procession, though not one that resembles a *hat* or a *turban*. It cannot therefore from hence be told, *which* Shadrach and his companions wore upon this occasion. Different ranks of people probably wore different coiffures, as differently made turbans are now worn in the East, in different countries, and even by people of different ranks in the same country.

All the five sorts, however, or at least almost all of them, may be called in our language *caps*, which perhaps may be a more proper word, to be used in translating this passage, than either *hat* or *turban*.

Many of these figures have a short sort of cloak hanging over their shoulders, something like one of those ancient vestments put on the shoulders of our English kings, in the day of their coronation. Perhaps something of this kind is what is meant by the first of these three words, which our English version renders *coats*; but which the more

modest translators of the Septuagint would not venture to put a Greek word for, but gave the original word, or what they took for the original word, in Greek letters. The like modesty appears in the interlineary version of Montanus.

The vulgar Latin, Symmachus, and a Greek scholiast, whose words are given by Lambert Bos in his edition of the Septuagint, suppose that the first of these three words signifies *breeches*, or something of that kind ; but the reason I before mentioned prevents an acquiescence in such an interpretation, and it only serves to shew how unable they were to determine the sense of the words.

The supposing they were ensigns of dignity or office, in general, appears to be the most natural account that can be given : the command, it seems, was, that they should not only be thrown into the flames with their common garments ; but even with all the ensigns of dignity and office which they had on, when first seized. The vehemence of the king's anger being such as to command immediate execution without that degradation, (that stripping off vestments, and taking away ensigns of dignity) which the cool and determinate cruelty of the Popish church in former times has been wont to practise, before the offender in holy orders was committed to the flames.

If it should be objected, that the hammers that appear on this Persian antiquity were probably things belonging to their idolatrous worship, and it may be the sacred instruments with which they knocked down their sacrifices, and that therefore these faithful and zealous worshippers of the one

living and true God, would never have appeared with them in this solemn assembly : I would answer, that we cannot certainly tell what use they were put to : and if it should be admitted, that they were instruments belonging to their idolatrous worship, yet other things are seen in the hands of many of these figures, or fixed about them, that plainly appeared to have had no such reference, as spears, bows, quivers, &c. Consequently the second of these words may very well be understood to mean, some ensigns of their secular honour which they carried in their hands, or had about them, and which might bear some resemblance to the hammers of that age, and that country. Or, perhaps, the word might mean those large hammer-like hilted swords, which appear stuck to the side of several of the leaders of each distinct company in this grand procession, and which seem to be the mark of dignity. The form of the hilt of these swords is really remarkable, if the drawings of Chardin are exact. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that they do not appear, at all, in the engravings of these antiquities, in the quarto edition of le Bruyn ; but then it ought to be remarked that le Bruyn's figures are of little more than half the size of those of Chardin, and consequently the want of any sword in those leading figures may be owing merely to the diminutive size, in which they must have appeared if properly engraven.

But be this at it may, it is natural to suppose that the three things distinctly mentioned in this passage of Daniel mean, in general, habits or en-

signs of dignity, with which they were thrown into the flames, as well as in their common clothes, that all might see no national prejudice, no station of dignity, should exempt them from death, that should dare to refuse a compliance with the will of their prince in religious matters. But what the things particularly were is much more uncertain : if we are at all influenced by these wonderful remains of Eastern royal magnificence, the supposing them to mean a short garment hung on the shoulders, something like that part of the English royal dress called the *dalmatica*, a large sword with a hammer-like hilt, and a cap of dignity, may be as probable an interpretation as has been put upon these words, and more so than the explanation of our translation, which talks of coats, hosen of breeches, and *hats*.

Ensigns of dignity began to be worn in times of the most remote antiquity, of which we have any account. And as crowns and sceptres are very ancient ; so we find a key, worn on the shoulder, a mark of Jewish inferior dignity, in the time of their princes of the house of David.* The splendor of Nebuchadnezzar's court leads us to suppose they were of several kinds there ; and I would hope the illustration I have given from this celebrated Persian monument may appear not very improbable ; at least not disagreeable to be proposed for examination.†

* Isa. xxii. 22. The apparel of the servants of Solomon, mentioned 1 Kings x. 5., were, I presume, robes of dignity.

† Mr. Parkhurst on the word סרבל *sarbel*, the *first* of the three words referred to above, observes, " Herodotus, lib. i.

OBSERVATION LXVIII.

The same Subject continued.

WHEN the son of Sirach opposes him that wore *Ἰμολιγόν* to him that wore purple and a crown,* it is visible that he means to contrast one that was miserably clothed, to one that was richly attired. But is it as clear that he meant by that Greek word a *porter*, according to the marginal translation? or can the describing such a person as being one that wore a linen garment, according to the body of our English version, be considered as a happy translation.

The poor people of Egypt are described now as clothed very generally with a “linen shirt or frock, which is always dyed blue.” But though the dyeing it of that colour is very universal, yet it

cap. 195., tells us, that in his time, which was about one hundred years after the events recorded in Dan. iii. the dress of the Babylonians consisted of a tunic (of woollen,) and over all a white short cloak or mantle, and that on their heads they wore turbans, *μικροῖς*. Thus therefore I think we may best translate Dan. iii. 21. *Then these three men were bound* סרבליהון *in their cloaks:* פטשיהון *their turbans,* וקרבלתהון *their upper (woollen) tunics,* ולבשיהון *their under (linen) tunics.* And as, according to this interpretation, their סרבלים *their outermost garments,* we see the propriety with which it is observed at ver. 27., that these *were not changed by the fire.*—EDIT.

* Ecclesiasticus xl. 4.

is spoken of as done by indigo, a thing of value, and which is considered as a beautiful dye, and is accordingly cultivated in Egypt up to the cataracts.*

So another writer informs us, as to the dress of the common people in Egypt, that the men wear next to their skin a shirt of coarse calico, without a collar or wristband, which hangs down to their knees; above it they wear another larger, and longer, of a blue colour, and round their waist a leathern girdle, about a quarter of a yard in breadth, buckled on the front with brass buckles. —The women are dressed nearly in the same manner, but without girdles, wearing their outer shirt loose, reaching down to their heels; the seams of it are sewed with red silk, and both sides are embroidered,† &c. This embroidery, I think, plainly shews, that though it is the dress of the common people that is described, yet still not as destitute of all finery; and the being dyed with indigo is of the same nature with the embroidery: may not *Ομολιον* then mean coarse linen not so much as dyed, according to the custom of Egypt with indigo, but worn as it comes from the bleaching-ground? perhaps not so much as bleached, but as it came from the loom? As the word signifies crude linen, may it not be understood after this manner?

One would hardly think it necessary to suppose it means tow, or flax unwoven and unspun, though

* De Tott's Memoirs, Part iv. p. 68.

† History of the Revolt of Ali Bey, p. 17.

a quantity of that wrapped round the waist, might be sufficient to conceal the private parts, which seem to be as much as many of the Egyptians are concerned about, and even more. So Niebuhr saw some washer women in that country, washing in the sea and in the river, who had no trowsers on, but simply a cloth about their haunches.* De Tott adds, concerning the Egyptians, “ Both the men and women swim like fish. Their clothing is only a blue shirt, which but indifferently conceals the pudency of the women ; the men gird it round them, for convenience, while they labour ; the children always go naked ; and I have seen girls, eighteen years old, still children in that respect.†

I suppose with Grotius, in his commentary on this book, that it is not necessary to understand the first member of this verse exclusively of kings, since their nobles also wore purple ; but I am inclined to think the crowns this writer speaks of do not mean garlands of flowers, worn in times of festivity, since the poorest might, if they pleased, do the same thing, and those that were inferior to kings had crowns (or coronets) of gold sent them, as well as purple in those times, and among the rest, some of the great men of the Jewish nation at that time, as appears by one of the books entitled Maccabees.‡

But the most splendid dress is certainly opposed

* Voy. en Arabie, et en d'autres Pays circonvoisins, Tom. I. p. 168.

† Tom. IV. p. 74.

‡ 1 Macc. x. 20.

in these words to the meanest ; and it will be pleasing to recollect here, that the author was a Jew, who wrote in Egypt, where linen dyed blue is universally, or almost universally, worn by the common people.

OBSERVATION LXIX.

Eunuchs attendant on the Great.

THE possession of black eunuchs is not very common in the Levant ; and they are hardly any where to be found except in the palaces of the sovereign, or of the branches of the royal family. In some points, in this in particular, the ancient Jewish kings carried their magnificence as high as the modern princes of Asia : for we find Ebed-melech, who appears to have been a black eunuch,* served in the court of Zedekiah,† the last of the kings of Judah, preceding the captivity of that people in Babylon.

The similarity of taste in being attended by eunuchs, in setting a peculiar estimation on those of a black complexion, and the supposed magnificence of having such attendants, is rather remarkable.

When the Baron de Tott's wife and mother-in-law were admitted to make a visit to Asma Sultana,

* Jer. xiii. 23.

† Jer. xxxviii. 7, 10, 12. ch. xxxix. 16.

daughter of the emperor Achmet, and sister of the then reigning prince, he tells us, that at the opening of the third gate of her palace, several black eunuchs presented themselves, who, with each a white staff in his hand, preceded the visitors, leading them to a spacious apartment, called the chamber of strangers. At the close of the account of this visit, he informs us, that “ these beings are in Turkey only an article of luxury ; and scarcely met with, but in the seraglio of the Grand Seignior, and those of the Sultanas. The pride of some grandees has indeed gone so far as to make use of them, but with moderation ; and the richest among them have not more than one or two black eunuchs at most. The manners of these are always harsh and brutal ; and offended nature seems continually to express her anger at the injury she has received.”*

The very humane disposition Ebed-melech expressed towards the Prophet Jeremiah when thrown into a dungeon where he was ready to perish, seems to entitle him to the honour of being an exception to this unamiable character, but which may be, very possibly, most agreeable to their tyrannizing masters.

* Memoirs, Part 1. p. 71, &c.

OBSERVATION LXX.

A curious Illustration of Ezek. xliv. 2, 3.

AMONG other instances of the extreme distance, and profound awe, with which Eastern majesty is treated, one that is mentioned by Sir John Chardin, in his account of Persia, appears very strange to us ; yet may afford a lively comment on a passage of the Prophet Ezekiel.

Sir John tells us,* “ It is a common custom in Persia, that when a great man has built a palace, he treats the king and his grandees in it for several days. Then the great gate of it is open : but when these festivities are over, they shut it up, never more to be opened.” He adds, “ I have heard that the same thing is practised in Japan.”

It seems suprising to us, that great and magnificent houses within should have only small entrances into them, which no one would suppose would lead into such beautiful edifices. But such, he observes, is the common custom there : making no magnificent entrance into their houses at all ; or, if they do, shutting them up after a little time, and making use of some small entrance near the great one, or, it may be, in some very different part of the building.

This account, however, may serve as a comment on the passage of Ezekiel, *Then said the LORD unto me, This gate shall be shut ; it shall not be*

* Tom. III. p. 69.

opened ; and no man shall enter in by it, because the LORD GOD of Israel hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut. It is for the prince, Ch. xlv. 2, 3.

Not so however for the prince himself, as that he should pass through that gate ; he was only to stand, or to sit in the entrance of it, while other persons, if they worshipped at that gate, were to keep at a more awful distance, ch. xlv. 1—12. But this indulgence was only on festival days—sabbaths and new moons.

OBSERVATION LXXI.

Giving the Hand to a Person, a Token of Subjection.

DEEP as the reverence is with which the Orientals treat their princes, yet, in some cases, a mode of treatment occurs that we are surprised at, as seeming to us of the West, too near an approach to that familiarity that takes place among equals : the taking a new elected prince by the hand, in token of acknowledging his princely character, may probably appear to us in this light.

D'Herbelot, in explaining an Eastern term,* which, he tells us, signifies the election or auguration of a khalif, the supreme head of the Mohammedans, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, tells us, that “ this ceremony consisted in stretching forth a person's hand, and taking that of him.

* P. 204, art. Biat.

that they acknowledged for khalif. This was a sort of performing homage, and swearing fealty to him." He adds, that " Khondemir (a celebrated historian) speaking of the election of Othman, the third khalif after Mohammed, says that Ali alone did not present his hand to him; and that upon that occasion Abdurahman, who had by compromise made the election, said to him, ' O Ali ! he who violates his word is the first person that is injured by so doing ;' upon hearing of which words, Ali stretched out his hand, and acknowledged Othman as Khalif."

How much less solemn and expressive of reverence is this, than the manner of paying homage and swearing fealty at the coronation of our princes ; to say nothing of the adoration that is practised in the Romish church, upon the election of their great ecclesiastic ! It may however serve to illustrate what we read concerning Jehonadab,* the head of an Arab tribe that lived, and consequently was in some measure subject to, the kingdom of Israel. *Jehonadab came to meet Jehu, and he saluted him ; and Jehu said to Jehonadab, Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart ? and Jehonadab answered, It is. And he said, If it be give me thine hand : and he gave him his hand, and he took him up to him into the chariot.*

This giving him the hand appears not to have been the expression of private friendship ; but the solemn acknowledgement of him as king over Israel.

* 2 Kings x. 15, 16.

Our translators seem to have supposed, by their way of expressing matters, that Jehu saluted, or blessed Jehonadab; and Bishop Patrick thought it was plain that it ought so to be understood. But I cannot but think it most natural to understand the words as signifying, that Jehonadab came to meet Jehu as then king of Israel; and to compliment him on being acknowledged king of the country in which he dwelt; not that this newly anointed prince first saluted him. This would not have been in character. So when Jacob was introduced to Pharaoh, he is said to have blessed Pharaoh, not Pharaoh Jacob, Gen. xlvii. 7. The words therefore should have been translated, with a slight variation, after some such manner as this, “He lighted on Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, coming to meet him, and he (Jehonadab) saluted him; and he (Jehu) said unto him, Is thine heart, &c.

OBSERVATION LXXII.

Curious Illustration of Ezek. xxvii. 12—16.

Takhtdar, تخت‌دار d’Herbelot informs us,* is a Persian word, which properly signifies a precious carpet, which is made use of for the covering the throne of the king of Persia; and that this word is also used as an epithet, by which the Persians describe their princes, on account of their

* P. 847.

being possessed of this throne. Now I would propose as a query, Whether it is not as probable, that the term *covering*, applied by the Prophet Ezekiel to the prince of Tyrus, may be explained in a similar way, and be as good a solution of a very obscure epithet as any that has been offered by the learned? It certainly will have the advantage, as appears by this citation, of being truly in the Eastern taste.

The passage referred to in Ezekiel, is as follows: *Son of man, take up a lamentation upon the king of Tyrus, and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD GOD, Thou sealest up the sum, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty. Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of GOD: every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, topaz, &c. Thou art the anointed cherub that covereth: and I have set thee so; thou wast upon the holy mountain of GOD: thou hast walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire, &c. By the multitude of thy merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence, and thou hast sinned: therefore I will cast thee as profane out of the mountain of GOD: and I will destroy thee, O covering cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire. Chap. xxviii. 12—16.*

The explanation given by the learned of this epithet *covering* is as follows; that it is an allusion to the posture of the cherubic figures that were over the ark;* and of others, that it means the *protection* this prince afforded to other states, either Judea, the mountain of GOD, as it might be styled,

* Exod. xxv. 20. 1 Kings viii. 7.

or the cities of the heathen in the islands of the Mediterranean, or on its sea-coasts. What they have said may, I believe, be reduced to one of these particulars.

But it cannot well be the first, for the Prophet evidently refers to a living cherub, not the posture of the image of one made of gold, or of an olive-tree.* He cannot be described after this manner, on the account of his being a protector of Judea, and his covering that sacred country from its enemies, for the Prophet represents this prince as an adversary in this very prophecy: *Son of man, because that Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Aha, she is broken that was the gates of the people: she is turned unto me; I shall be replenished, now she is laid waste: Therefore thus saith the LORD GOD, Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus, &c.* ch. xxvi. 2, 3. Nor does there appear any ground in the prophecy, for believing the Tyrians were remarkable for defending their neighbours. On the contrary, the Sidonians are represented in the Scriptures as an unwarlike people, Judges xviii. 7., and they and the Tyrians are known to have resembled each other: indeed to have been nearly one people.

But if we understand the word as signifying having a throne covered with a rich and widely-spreading carpet, it will be explaining the word in a manner conformable to the present Eastern taste, as appears by this article of d'Herbelot, and will answer the rest of the imagery, with sufficient exactness.

* 1 Kings vi. 23.

Ezekiel appears to have mingled earthly and heavenly things together, in this description of Tyrian royal magnificence. Earth and heaven are joined together in the second verse of this xxviiith chapter, *Thou hast said, I am a God; I sit in the seat of God*, that is, in heaven, among the stars, as the king of Babylon is represented by Isaiah as boasting, *Thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven; I will exalt my throne above the stars of God.....I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High*;* yet at the same time the prince of Tyrus is supposed to speak of his sitting in the heart of the sea. In like manner this prince is spoken of as having been in Eden, the garden of God; (the world of blessed spirits appears to have been meant) yet as adorned with jewels of an earthly nature, the sardius, topaz, diamond, &c. No wonder then that in the next verse he is described as a cherub, which every body knows denotes a kind of angel, and inhabitant of heaven, and yet is represented as appearing in the attitude of an earthly prince seated on a throne, covered either with a widely extended carpet, or with robes, with a mighty spreading train. The heavenly vision which Isaiah saw, in the year that king Uzziah died,† presented much the same appearance: *I saw also the Lord upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train* (or, according to the margin, the skirts thereof) *filled the temple*. After that Ezekiel speaks of this prince as upon the mountain of

* Isa. xiv. 13, 14.

† Isa. vi. 1.

God, magnificent, that is, as if in heaven, for he had no abode on mount Sion ; and walking up and down in the midst of the stones of fire, or stars, as before observed concerning the king of Babylon. Then, in the 16th verse, he is threatened to be cast, as profane, out of this mountain of God ; and, though a covering cherub, or like a cherub enthroned, to be destroyed from the midst of these metaphorical stones of fire, the stars ; above which he had as it were placed his throne, so great was his pomp and magnificence.

Such seems to me the most natural explanation of the term *covering* in this description. Why the king of Tyrus is denominated a cherub, and why called the anointed cherub, are not matters that come under this Observation.* All that I would remark farther is, that it seems there was a different reading in the Hebrew copy, or copies, that St. Jerom made use of, from what we now find in those of the modern Jews ; for he translates that word which we render anointed, (“ Thou art the anointed cherub,”) by the term *extentus*, which

* It may not be amiss just to hint in a note, that as a cherub is supposed to fly with the rapidity of the wind, according to those words, *He rode upon a cherub, and did fly ; yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind ;* by which it appears that the wings of a cherub and the wings of the wind are terms of much the same import : for that reason the prince of Tyre, who was a most distinguished maritime power of that time, whose ships flew about the seas on the wings of the wind, and who might at times appear in great pomp, in some ancient bucentaur or royal yacht, flying like a cherub, from whence he might be so named, as other princes were called angels, from the general great splendor of their appearance.

signifies extended, or drawn out in length, and so both epithets may be considered as forming one idea—O thou extended and covering cherub! thou cherub whose royal carpet extends far and near, and most magnificently covers a very large space. Jerom however gives us to understand the Septuagint translators read, as our Hebrew copies do now, that which signifies anointed. Wherever the mistake is supposed to lie, in our modern Hebrew copies or St. Jerom's, the mistake was easily made, *cheth* being put for *he*, or the reverse; and every one that knows the shape of the Hebrew letters, knows how nearly they resemble each other: Jerom it seems, taking the word to be derived from the verb משה *mashah*, he drew out; our copies read משה *mashach*, the anointed.

OBSERVATION LXXIII.

High raised Seats, Places of Honour.

THOUGH the sitting on mats and carpets on the ground is now the common usage of the East, with hardly any variation from it; and though it seems to have obtained, on some occasions at least, in the time of our Lord, among the Jews: yet it is certain, seats raised to a considerable height from the ground, even so high as to make a footstool requisite, were in use anciently in places where hardly any such thing is now to be found.

The Persian carvings at Persepolis frequently exhibit a venerable personage sitting in a sort of

high-raised chair, with a foot-stool;* but the later sovereigns of that country have sat, with their legs under them, on some carpet or cushion laid on the floor, like their subjects. Sitting low in the like manner is practised now by all sorts of people, from the highest to the lowest in Egypt:† but two very ancient colossal statues there are placed on cubical stones, in the same attitude that we make use of in sitting; it being, according to Norden's measures, from the sole of the feet to the knees, 15 feet.‡ In like manner, we find the figures on the ancient Syrian coins are represented sitting on seats as we do.

From which this conclusion, I think, may be fairly drawn, that they sat in these countries, formerly, not unfrequently, as we do, particularly those in high life, though oftener on the ground or floor than among us, even among those low in the world.

Accordingly Eli, the judge as well as high-priest of Israel, sat on a throne or high seat, when the fatal news of the defeat of his people was brought to him, upon falling from which he broke his neck, 1 Sam. iv. 18.

Nor were such lofty seats appropriate to kings and supreme magistrates. Solomon represents a lewd woman, who sat at her door to inveigle passengers, as seated on such a seat, for it is the same word כִּסֵּא *kissa* in the original which is continually translated throne: *She sitteth at the door of her house, on a seat (a throne) in the high places of*

* Chardin, Tome III. planche 63, 64, and 66.

† Norden, Vol. II. p. 74. plate 5.

‡ P 69.

the city, to call passengers who go right on their way. Whoso is simple, let him turn in hither, &c. Prov. ix. 14., &c.

That custom of sitting at their doors, in the most alluring pomp that comes within their reach, is still an Eastern practice. "The whores," says Pitts, speaking of the ladies of pleasure at Grand Cairo, "use to sit at the door, or walk in the streets, unveiled. They are commonly very rich in their clothes, some having their shifts and drawers of silk, &c. These courtezans or ladies of pleasure, as well as other women, have broad velvet caps on their heads, beautified with abundance of pearls, and other costly and gaudy ornaments, &c. These madames go along the streets smoking their pipes of four or five feet long; and when they sit at their doors, a man can scarce pass by but they will endeavour to decoy him in."*

The Jewish police, in the time of Solomon, was not so rigid, as to prevent the appearance of lewd women in public; and when they did do so, it appears that they frequently sat at the doors of their houses, as they do now in that part of the world, to entice the unthinking. At which time they assume all the pomp and splendor in their power; and this sitting on a high seat was used, undoubtedly, with that view, in the time of Solomon. Agreeably to which he represents a lewd woman in another passage, as talking of decking her bed with coverings of tapestry, with fine linen of

* Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammedans, p. 99, 100.

Egypt, and of perfuming it with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon.*

They did not then among the ancients sit universally, as the modern inhabitants of the East now do, on the ground or floor, on some mat or carpet : they sometimes sat on thrones, or seats more or less like our chairs, often raised so high as to require a footstool. But it was considered as a piece of splendor, and offered as a mark of particular respect.

It was doubtless for this reason that a seat of this kind was placed, along with some other furniture, in the chamber which the devout Shunamitess prepared for the Prophet Elisha, 2 Kings iv. 10., which our version has very unhappily translated a *stool*, by which we mean the least honourable kind of seat in an apartment ; whereas the original word meant to express her respect for the Prophet by the kind of seat she prepared for him.†

* Prov. vii. 16, 17.

† The word is כִּסֵּא *kissa*, the same that is commonly translated *throne*. The candlestick is, in like manner, to be considered as a piece of furniture, suitable to a room that was magnificently fitted up, according to the mode of those times, a light being kept burning all night long in such apartments. So a lamp was kept burning all night in the apartment in which Dr. Richard Chandler slept, in the house of a Jew, who was vice-consul for the English nation, at the place where he first landed, when he proposed to visit the curious ruins of Asia Minor. Farther, we are told by de la Roque, in the account given of some French gentlemen's going to Arabia Felix, p. 43, 44., that they found only mats in the house of the captain of the port of Aden, where they were honourably received, which were to serve them for beds, chairs, and tables ; so in the evening they brought them tapers

These high seats were also used in other parts of the East besides Judea ; for St. James, ch. i. 1., writing to the Jews in their dispersions, speaks of them as using seats that required a footstool in their religious assemblies, see chap. ii. 3.

Some ingenious writers then seem to have pushed matters too far, when they have represented the people of the East as anciently sitting cross-legged, or on their hams, as universally as they now do.

OBSERVATION LXXIV.

Of the Use of Carpets in Devotion, and of Sackcloth in Mourning.

THE Eastern people spread mats or small carpets under them when they pray ; and even suppose it unlawful to pray on the bare ground. Is it not natural to suppose the Jews had something under them when they prayed ; and that this was a piece of sackcloth in times of peculiar humiliation ?

When they wore sackcloth in the day, it is not perhaps natural to suppose they slept in fine linen ; but I should suppose some passages of Scripture, which, in our translation, speak of lying in sackcloth, are rather to be understood of lying prostrate before God on sackcloth, than taking their repose on that coarse and harsh kind of stuff.

The learned and exact Vitringa makes no re-

without candlesticks, the want of which they were to supply as well as they could, which was but indifferently.

mark of this kind on that passage of Isaiah, *Is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him?** He only quotes what is said of Ahab, 1 Kings xxi. 27.; and the Jews in Shushan, Esther iv. 2.; as of a similar nature; and seems to understand this piece of humiliation before God of lodging on sackcloth.† But, surely, it must be much more natural to understand the solemnity of prostration on sackcloth before God, which follows the mention of hanging down the head, used in kneeling, or in standing as suppliants before him, rather than of sleeping in sackcloth, the night before or the night after the day of fasting.

It seems to me, in like manner, to express the humiliation of Ahab with more energy, than as commonly understood: *And it came to pass, when Ahab heard those words, that he rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and prostrated himself on sackcloth, &c.* The like may be said of the lying of the Jews in Shushan in sackcloth.

A passage in Josephus strongly confirms this, in which he describes the deep concern of the Jews for the danger of Herod Agrippa, after having been stricken suddenly with a violent disorder in the theatre of Cæsarea. Upon the news of

* Isa. lviii. 5.

† Solebant enim, qui se profundè humiliabant, in sacco et cinere jacere, nullo alio capitis aut corporis fulcimento sibi substrato, ut exemplo Achabi, et aliunde liquet.

his danger, “ immediately the multitude, with their wives and children, sitting upon sackcloth, according to their country rites, prayed for the king : all places were filled with wailing and lamentation : while the king, who lay in an upper room, beholding the people thus below falling prostrate on the ground, could not himself refrain from tears.” *Antiq. lib. xix. cap. 8. § 2. p. 951.* Here we see the sitting on sackcloth, resting on their hams in prayer, and falling prostrate at times on the sackcloth, was a Jewish observance in times of humiliation and distress.

It is a little unhappy that this passage slipped the recollection of Vitranga, as it sets several places of Scripture in a truer and stronger point of light, than that in which they are usually placed.

The reader will easily imagine, that I do not consider the rendering this clause in a late exquisite and most beautiful translation of Isaiah, as one of the happiest parts of it—

“ Is it, that he should bow down his head like a bulrush ;

“ And spread sackcloth and ashes for his couch ?” as I apprehend the spreading the sackcloth was for sitting in a half-kneeling humble posture, and for prostration before God ; rather than for sleeping on.

Whether the Jews used carpets in common in their devotions, as the Mohammedans, and the Persians in particular, now do, I will not take upon me to say : but Sir John Chardin supposes these modern Eastern practices are derived from the Jews ; and he tells us, that the Persians that

are devout will have a little carpet to perform their devotions on, appropriated for that purpose, though the rooms in which they pray are all over covered with carpets. The reason alleged by them it seems is, that they may appear before God in a low and mean condition, (whereas it is well known that the carpets of the East are often extremely rich, beautiful, and costly.) They do not however use sackcloth in general; but the poorer sort, mats; others of a higher station, felt; and people of quality, fine camblet.*

As they make a scruple of praying on the bare ground,† except in travelling, one would be inclined to think this custom rather arose from a care to avoid dirt‡ as a thing that was defiling, than to express humiliation; for nothing can be more humbling, defilement not considered, than kneeling on the bare ground. However, at present, they have a different apprehension of things, for they say it is unlawful to pray on the bare earth, or a bare floor, except in journeying: the earth upon which they speak to God being, according to them, holy, it ought to be covered from a principle of doing it honour, and to walk upon it, so covered, barefooted only.

* Voy. Tom. II. p. 392, 393.

† Ibidem.

‡ It was, it is probable, for this reason that the Jews were wont to choose the sea-shore for kneeling upon when they prayed, of which we find an instance in the Acts of the Apostles, ch. xxi. 5.

OBSERVATION LXXV.

*The Manner in which the Sabbath is honoured
among the Modern Greeks.*

THE manner in which the modern Christianized Greeks observe the Sunday, derived, most probably, from the manner in which their Pagan ancestors observed their sacred days, may be considered as giving a lively explanation of what the Jewish Prophet meant when he said, *If thou turn away thy foot from the sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day ; and call the sabbath a delight ; the holy of the LORD ; honourable ; and shalt honour him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words : then shalt thou delight thyself, &c.**

“ In the evening,” says Dr. Chandler, speaking of his visiting the island Tenedos, “ this being Sunday, and a festival, we were much amused with seeing the Greeks, who were singing and dancing in several companies, to music near the town ; while their women were sitting in groups on the roofs of the houses, which are flat, as spectators, at the same time enjoying the soft air and serene sky.”†

The ancient Egyptian festivals were observed, we are told, with processions, with music, and

* Isa. lviii. 13, 14.

† Travels in Asia Minor, p. 18.

other tokens of joy ; and we have reason to believe the account is true, from what is said in the book of Exodus, of the manner in which the Egyptianizing Jews observed the festival of the golden calf ; it seems they eat and drank, and rose up to play, *Exod. xxxii. 6.*, which is explained by *ver. 18. and 19.*, which speak of their dancing and singing, as the visible object of their worship was in the Egyptian taste ; the method of solemnizing the festival was, without doubt, after their manner also.

The sabbaths of *JEHOVAH* were to be observed in a very different form. Fires are often but little wanted for the purpose of warming themselves through the whole winter ; they are necessary for cooking, but no fires were to be kindled through their habitations on their sabbaths, *Exod. xxxv. 3.* : there was to be no feasting then. It was to be a time of repose ; not, therefore, of dancing, which is rather a violent exercise in those countries.*

But this prohibition of the Jewish law-giver, and afterwards of *Isaiah*, did not arise from a sullen dislike of every thing pleasurable even in religious solemnities. In their feast of Tabernacles, they were commanded to rejoice ; and the injunction

* See *Dr. Chandler's Travels*, p. 24. " Our janizary, who was called *Barneter Aga*, played on a Turkish instrument like a guittar. Some accompanied him with their voices, singing loud. Their favourite ballad contained the praises of *Stamboul*, or *Constantinople*. Two, and sometimes three or four, danced together, keeping time to a lively tune, until they were almost breathless. These extraordinary exertions were followed with a demand of *bacshish*, a reward or present," &c.

was redoubled.* They were commanded also to rejoice before the LORD in the feast of Pentecost.† Isaiah speaks of a song in the night, when a holy solemnity was kept, and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of the LORD, to the mighty one of Israel;‡ and David danced before the ark of God, when it was removed from the house of Obed-edom to the city of David.§ But their sabbaths were to be observed in a more composed and silent way.

This arose then from other causes—from a principle of benevolence, that the labouring hand, the slave, and even the cattle, might not be overborne with incessant work||—that they might gather together for religious purposes¶—that they might have time for meditation, and those devotional exercises of the heart which are so much its natural consequence: *Remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and the Lord thy God brought thee out thence, through a mighty hand, and by an out-stretched arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day.*** Every one knows how favourable cessation from business, and solitude are to meditation; and its attendant exercises, reading and prayer.

These are moral considerations, and all of them perfectly agreeable to the Christian dispensation; and, consequently, if we observe one day in the week as sacred, it should be observed, in general,

* Deut. xvi. 13, 14, 15.

† Ver. 10, 11.

‡ Chap. xxx. 29.

§ 2 Sam. vi. 14.

|| Exod. xxiii. 12.

¶ Lev. xxiii. 3.

** Deut. v. 15.

after the same manner—as a time of cessation from business as far as may well be ; freedom from company ; an attending public worship ; and the exercises of devout retirement. Jewish peculiarities cannot be necessary ; but the dissipation of the Greeks cannot be agreeable to the genius of the Gospel, which, though by no means morose and gloomy, is nevertheless serious and thoughtful.*

OBSERVATION LXXVI.

Of stretching out their Hands in Prayer.

THE stretching out the hand towards an object of devotion, or an holy place, was an ancient usage among Jews and heathens both, and it continues in the East to this time, which continuance I do not remember to have seen remarked.

If (says the Psalmist) we have forgotten the name of our God, or stretched out our hands to a strange god: shall not God search this out, Psal.

* *Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, says the apostle, Phil. ii. 12.; to which may be added, that being lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God ; having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof; is the description the Apostle gives of those that are under the influence of a spirit, the reverse of that of the Gospel, 2 Tim. iii. 4, 5. Celebrating days devoted to religious exercises, after the manner the ancient heathens observed their festivals, by no means agrees with the apostolic instruction, Rom. xii. 2.; as attention, recollection, and cessation from worldly cares and conversation, are what the LORD JESUS enjoins those that hear His word preached, as appears by the parable of the sower, Matt. xiii. 19, 22.*

xliv. 20, 21. *Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God*, Psa. lxxviii. 31. *Hear the voice of my supplications, when I cry unto thee: when I lift up my hand towards thy holy oracle*, Psa. xxviii. 2.

That this attitude in prayer has continued among the Eastern people, appears by the following passages from Pitts, in his account of the religion and manners of the Mohammedans. Speaking of the Algerines throwing wax-candles and pots of oil overboard, as a present to some marabbot, (or Mohammedan saint,) Pitts goes on,* and says, "When this is done, they all together hold up their hands, begging the marabbot's blessing, and a prosperous voyage. This they do in common, it seems, when in the Straights-mouth :† " and if at any time they happen to be in a very great strait or distress, as being chased, or in a storm, they will gather money, and do likewise."‡ In the same page he tells us, the "marabbots have generally a little neat room built over their graves, resembling in figure their mosques or churches, which is very nicely cleaned, and well looked after." And in the succeeding page he tells us, "Many people there are who will scarcely pass by any of them without lifting up their hands, and saying some short prayer." He mentions the same devotion again as practised towards a saint that lies buried on the shore of the Red Sea, p. 114.

In like manner, he tells us, that at quitting the

* P. 17, 18.

† Where on the Barbary shore, one of these marabbots lies intombed.—Ib.

‡ P. 18.

Beet, or holy house at Mecca, to which they make devout pilgrimages, “they hold up their hands towards the *Beet*, making earnest petitions; and then keep going backward till they come to the abovesaid farewell gate. All the way as they retreat they continue petitioning, holding up their hands, with their eyes fixed on the *Beet*, until they are out of sight of it: and so go to their lodgings weeping,” p. 143, 144.

OBSERVATION LXXVII.

Prostration at the Threshold, one Mode of honouring Persons in the East.

THE threshold of the palace of a living prince, and the threshold of a dead highly-honoured personage, are supposed to be the places where those that proposed to do them honour, prostrated themselves, touching it with their foreheads in token of solemn reverence.

For this reason it is, I imagine, that the Prophet Ezekiel calls the sanctuary the threshold of God, and idolatrous temples, or chapels (when more than one place were dedicated to the worship of distinct idols, in one and the same building) their thresholds, ch. xliii. 8. *In their setting of their thresholds by my threshold, and their posts by my posts,* and the wall between me and them, (or, according to the marginal translation, for there was*

* Our translation differs from some other translators in making these three words plural.

but a wall between me and them) they have even defiled my holy name, by their abominations that they have committed.

I do not know why else that part of their respective sacred edifices should be selected from the rest, and the *threshold* be particularly mentioned by Ezekiel.

It is certain the modern Persians make the threshold, in particular, the place where their devotees pay their reverence to their entombed saints, whom they sometimes treat, remote as these Persians are from idolatry, with a most improper and extravagant veneration. So immediately after the sixth distich, inscribed on the front of the famous and highly-honoured sacred tomb at Com, follows this: "Happy and glorious is the believer, who through reverence shall prostrate himself with his head on the threshold of this gate, in doing which he will imitate the sun and the moon."*

In a chapel adjoining to that in which the saint lies, in which adjoining chapel one of the late kings of that country has a superb tomb, and is supposed to lie interred, are seven sacred songs, written in large letters of gold, on a blue ground, in so many distinct panels, written in honour of Aaly, Mohammed's son-in-law, and the great saint of the Persians, as also the ancestor of that female saint that lies entombed here.—Among other extravagant expressions of praise, there is this distich in the fourth hymn, "The angelic messenger of the truth, Gabriel, kisses every day the thresh-

* Chardin, Tome I. p. 203.

old of thy gate, because it is the only way to arrive at the throne of Mohammed.”*

Some of the living Eastern princes have been honoured in much the same manner, according to d’Herbelot.†

But this will not explain why *posts* are mentioned, “ Setting of their threshold by my thresholds ; and their posts by my posts. ” Nor have I met with any account in writers that I have consulted, why these are distinctly mentioned. I would only remark, that it appears by what is said of Eli,‡ that the high-priest of God, when placed in a situation of honour in the tabernacle, was placed on a seat by one of its posts : consequently I have sometimes thought, that as setting their thresholds by the thresholds of God means, the making chapels or sanctuaries for their idols, where they were solemnly worshipped, within the precincts of the temple itself ; so setting up the posts of idols by those of God may mean, the appearance of the high-priests of such idols in some part of the temple of JEHOVAH himself, with marks of dignity and authority.

I will only add, that as the Jewish princes were in like manner placed near the pillar, when they appeared in the temple with regal pomp, according to 2 Kings xi. 14. ; and near the posts, or one of the posts of one of its gates, as appears by a passage of the Prophet Ezekiel,§ the expression may be understood to refer to such royal seats.

* P. 209.

† Biblioth. Orient. art. Mostadem, ou Mostazem Billah.

‡ 1 Sam. i. 9.

§ Chap. xliv. 3.

But these are so far from being alleged as decisive proofs, that they are only mentioned as giving some faint appearance of probability to such an explanation. And if admitted, it may signify the setting up a royal seat in these idolatrous sanctuaries; as there was a seat for the prince, when attending the worship of JEHOVAH.

But I should rather prefer the first of these interpretations, and suppose the posts complained of referred to the pomp with which the high-priests of their idols appeared in the temple of JEHOVAH himself, whose high-priest alone should have had that honour.

OBSERVATION LXXVIII.

Fine Handkerchiefs, embroidered Cloth, and Pieces of curious Needle-Work, given as Tokens of Respect to Persons in the East.

THE Jewish high-priest describes the sword of Goliah, which had been laid up in the tabernacle of God a consecrated memorial of the remarkable victory gained over that vain-glorious idolater, as wrapped up in some covering. But when our translators render it a *cloth*,* (which seems to convey the idea of an ordinary common piece of linen or woollen cloth,) they have surely determined what ought to have been less indeterminate, at least; I should even think it most pro-

* 1 Sam. xxi. 9.

bable, that whatever is meant by the covering, it was something stately and magnificent, according to the modes of that country, and that age.

The covering of the sword may mean its scabbard; but most likely it is to be understood of something in which both sword and scabbard were wrapped up.

Fine wrought handkerchiefs are now frequently given to persons as tokens of respect;* and are sometimes thrown over other things sent for presents in the East to the great. May we not suppose something of this kind was the wrapper in which this sword was placed, presented by a youth of generosity and devotion, who had a right to claim the king's daughter in marriage, for the service he had done his country by killing the champion of the Philistines,† and who perhaps did not present this monument of his victory, until he was in circumstances to enable him to do it with the requisite magnificence, if the other part of the spoils of Goliah had nothing fit for that purpose? If any part of his dress was sufficiently magnificent, it might have appeared, to

* Lady Mary W. Montague's Letters, Vol. II. p. 91; again p. 159.

† And thus their sacred books are wont to be wrapped up in a rich case of brocaded silk, or some such rich materials, Arab. Nights, Vol. II. No. 64, &c.

There is a fine specimen of this in the Library of the East India Company in Leadenhall-street; a MS. containing the poetical works of the King of Persia richly adorned and wrapped up in costly velvet, &c. a present sent by himself to the Governor General of India.—EDIT.

this Jewish hero, the most proper thing to wrap up the sword in.*

It is certain that embroidery and curious needle-work were not unknown to that age and that country: and that such ornamental pieces of work were deposited in the Tabernacle;† that the ephod itself was of something of the same kind;‡ and that such things were given to those that bore a distinguished part in gaining a victory.§ It is by no means then improbable that the covering of the sword in which it was wrapped was some beautiful piece of embroidered work.

If the word meant merely the *scabbard*, which is not so probable, as there were particular words to express that, though there is reason to believe the sword was in some sheath, since otherwise David could not so conveniently have carried it with him; I say, if it meant merely the scabbard in which it was inclosed, it might notwithstanding have been of embroidered work.

So Mr. Irwin, in the account of his adventures up the Red Sea, and through Egypt, tells us, that, among other losses he sustained, the new hakem that should have particularly befriended him, besides other articles, oppressively obtained from him

* So a piece of the coat of James IV. of Scotland, slain at Flodden-field, appeared to Catharine of Spain, the noblest banner her husband (Henry VIII.) could display in his armies when in France. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. III. Rec. No. 2, p. 6.

† Exod. xxvi. 36, 37. ch. xxxviii. 18.

‡ Chap. xxxix. 1, 2, 3. 5.

§ Judges v. 30.

two silk tambour waistcoats, for the purpose, we imagine, of covering his pipes, and the scabbards of his swords.* They must have seen something of this sort, or they would not have entertained an apprehension of his putting them to that use.

So have I seen, in our country, the sheath of a knife and fork, very curiously covered with rich embroidery of silk of various colours, and gold or silver thread ; with strings and tassels of the same materials, for the purpose, I apprehend, of hanging it by the side.

OBSERVATION LXXIX.

A curious Illustration of the History of Joseph.

THE history of the late Ali Bey affords a lively comment on the sacred history of Joseph, not only as to the circumstances of his being stolen away from his native country ; his being sold for a slave ; his rising in the strange land to which he was carried ; his being the governor of all Egypt ; but also to the sending for his father, the honours with which he treated him, and which the Egyptians also paid, out of respect for Joseph.

The particulars I first mentioned have been common to many, and shall be, therefore, but just mentioned ; but it may be pleasing to describe the last a little more at large.

At seventeen Joseph was stolen away† from his native country, being seized upon and sold by his

* P. 240.

† Gen. xxxvii. 2.

own brethren, to strangers, who carried him into Egypt : Ali Bey, who was born in the Lesser Asia, on the coast of the Black Sea, in the year 1728, was stolen away by some of his own countrymen, while he was amusing himself with hunting in one of the woods there, at the age of thirteen, and was carried into Egypt.*

Jacob, who in ancient times lost his young son, was a person of consideration, in the time and place in which he lived, being the grandson of one who was considered as a mighty prince among them ;† and Jacob lived in much the same style in that same country ; though his being of a different religion from the rulers of the country must, without doubt, have diminished his character among them : Ali Bey was the son of a Greek priest, a person then of some distinction, but labouring under the disadvantage of being of a different religion from that which prevailed there, and had the countenance of the civil magistrate, for that was the Mohammedan. But considerable as the Jewish patriarch and the Greek priest were, they both had the misfortune to lose a son, stolen from them, and each sold for a slave.

Both were sold into the same country—into Egypt : both came into the hands of great people of that country : and both, by degrees, rose to such a height as to govern that mighty state—Joseph as viceroy of Pharaoh, king of Egypt;‡ Ali

† Hist. of the Revolt of Ali Bey, p. 70.

† Gen. xxiii. 6.

‡ Pharaoh said to Joseph, *Thou shalt be over my house, and according to thy word shall all my people be ruled ; only in the*

Bey as Sheikh Bellet of Egypt, the first of the beys of that country, and, indeed, head of the Egyptian republic, as it is called by that author, acknowledging no other superior there than the Pasha, the representative of the Turkish emperor, and which Pasha is rather the Sheikh Bellet's superior in honour and outward form, than in real power.

But what I would chiefly remark, is the resemblance that may be observed as to the honours with which they treated their fathers, when in this high state and condition. Here it will be sufficient to recite the account this writer gives of Ali Bey: the conformity will at once appear; and in a very strong light too, to those that are well acquainted with the book of Genesis.

Ali, it seems, ordered a person he had occasion to send to Constantinople, to transact some business for him in that city, to find out his father when there, and bring him back with him into Egypt. His agent was successful, and brought him over; and when Daout, (or David,) which was the name of the Greek priest, who was Ali's father, approached Cairo, the capital of Egypt, where the Sheikh Bellet resided, Ali went out of the city, with a numerous retinue, to meet his father; and as soon as he saw him, he fell at his knees, and kissed his father's hand. Proceeding afterwards to his palace, Daout's feet having been washed by the domestics, "he was led into the harem,* and

throne will I be greater than thou. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt. Gen. xli. 40, 41.

* Or women's apartment.

Ali Bey presented to him the princess Mary,* and her child.”†

The author goes on, “The ceremony being over, Ali Bey left them, and went to the divan,‡ where he received congratulations from the other Beys, and the Janizar Aga. The Pasha himself sent his kiahaya,§ with his congratulations, and requested to see Daout, who was soon after introduced to the Pasha, and received with great respect, as the father of the Sheikh Bellet.”

Every one must be struck with the resemblance: and may not the modern account serve to fill up some vacuities in the Jewish history? May we not believe, that Jacob’s feet were washed with great ceremony when brought off his journey? That Asenath, Joseph’s consort, and her two sons Manasseh and Ephraim, were presented to him? That he received the congratulatory compliments of the principal Egyptians on the occasion, notwithstanding the difference of religion between them and Jacob; the Mohammedans of Egypt being as conceited of the superiority of their religion to that of the Greek church, as the worshippers of the ancient Egyptian idols could be of the preference due to their religion, when compared with the simple unadorned religion of Jacob, whose family were, we know, an abomination to the Egyptians?¶ It is certain that Jacob was presented to Pharaoh as Daout was to the Pasha;

* Ali’s principal wife.

† P. 85, of the history of Ali.

‡ The assembly of beys, &c. who govern Egypt, of whom the sheikh bellet is the chief.

§ Lieutenant.

¶ Gen. xlv. 34.

and received with as much respect, at least, since Jacob blessed the Egyptian prince.* Nor, probably, was Joseph, the ancient Sheikh Bellet of Egypt, unattended when he went to meet his father, though the sacred historian simply says, “that Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen, and presented himself to him.”† As Ali went out to meet his father with a great and pompous attendance, we may believe Joseph paid Jacob this honour in his life-time, as we are expressly told he did at his death. *And Joseph went up to bury his father; and with him went up all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt.‡*

Striking, however, as the resemblance was in many respects, in some points there was a great difference: Ali Bey, either by compulsion or persuasion, or a mixture of both, renounced the Christian religion in which he was educated; Joseph continued firm in that of the Patriarchs: Jacob continued in Egypt to the time of his death; but Daout would not stay there, but returned to his own country: Joseph died in Egypt in great honour; while Ali experienced a miserable reverse, dying in Egypt but in prison, of the wounds which he received in the fatal battle that overwhelmed him. But there are so many particulars in which there is an agreement, that the comparing them together gives a very sensible pleasure to me, and perhaps may to some of my readers, as there is

* Chap. xlvii. 7—10.

† Chap. xlvi. 29.

‡ Gen. l. 7.

a very strong resemblance between the honours paid by these eminent young personages to their aged parents, and on their account, by the Egyptians and the great men of that country.

OBSERVATION LXXX.

Pecuniary Rewards Tokens of Honour in the East.

AMONG us, here in Europe, the distinction between honorary and pecuniary rewards is so great, that we oftentimes can hardly think of jumbling them together as an acknowledgment of public services; and the same person that would receive the first with emotions of great pleasure, would think himself affronted by one of a pecuniary kind: but it is otherwise in the East, and it was so anciently.

De Tott did many great services to the Turkish empire, in the time of their late war with Russia; and the Turks were disposed to acknowledge them by marks of honour. "His highness," said the first minister speaking of the Grand Seignior, "has ordered me to bestow on you this public mark of his esteem, and, at the same time, made a sign to the master of the ceremonies to invest me with the pelisse;* while the hasnadar† presented me with a purse of 200 sequins.‡"

* Which robe was richly ermined, according to the preceding page.

† Or treasurer.

‡ Mem. Tom. III. p. 127. A sequin, according to p. 110,

The lively French officer was hurt by the offer of the sequins. "I directly turned towards those who had accompanied me; and shewing them my pelisse, I have received, said I, with gratitude, this proof of the Grand Seignior's favour; do you return thanks to the vizier for this purse; it is his gift.

"This expedient, which I preferred to a discussion of our different customs, was a sufficient lesson to the vizier, at the same time that it disengaged me from the embarrassment of Oriental politeness."

He then in a note adds, "This Turkish custom of giving money occasioned the greatest mortification to M. de Bonneval, that a man, like him, could receive. The ambassador extraordinary, from the emperor, who in the Austrian army had been in an inferior station to the refugee, dined, as is customary, with the vizier. The Porte had chosen Kiathana* for the place of this entertainment. M. de Bonneval had orders to repair thither with the corps of bombardiers, of which he was commander. When the exercise was over, he was sent for by the vizier, who gave him a handful of sequins, which his situation obliged him to accept with submission."

Just thus we find Joab would have rewarded an Israelitish soldier of his army, in the days of King David, who saw Absalom hanging in a tree: *Why didst thou not smite him there to the ground,*

is a gold coin of different values: that most in use is worth 5s. 10d. of our money, consequently 200 sequins of this sort were equal to 58l. 6s. 8d. or something more than 55 guineas.

* A place in the outskirts of Constantinople.

and I would have given thee ten shekels of silver, and a girdle ? 2 Sam. xviii. 11. The girdle would have been an honorary reward, like de Tott's ermined vest ; the ten shekels (or half-crowns) would have been a pecuniary recompense, like the 200 sequins de Tott disdained to receive.

I may add, that a furred robe, in general, is no distinguishing badge of dignity, for it may be worn by wealthy people in private life, who can bear the expense ; so that there is no ground to suppose, Joab's giving a girdle to the soldier would have been conferring some military honour, somewhat like knighting him, as, if I remember right, some have imagined : it would have been simply a valuable present, enabling him in after-time to appear with such a girdle as the rich wore, instead of the girdle of a peasant, but united with the consciousness and the reputation of its being acquired by doing some public service, and not the mere effect of being descended from a wealthy family.

The apparatus which some of the Eastern people make use of to gird themselves with is very mean. The common Arabs, according to de la Roque, use a girt adorned with leather ; and their women make use of a cord, or strip of cloth : but some of the Arab girdles are very rich, according to this writer.* The girdle Joab proposed to give was doubtless designed by him to be understood to be one of such value, as to be answerable to the supposed importance of the service he wished the man had performed, as well as his own dignity.

* Voy. dans la Pal. ch. xvi. p. 211, &c.

So Symon Simeonis, an Irish traveller to the Holy Land, in the year 1322, tells us, “ that the Saracens of Egypt rarely, if ever, girded themselves with any thing but a towel, on which they kneeled to say their prayers, except their people of figure, who wore girdles like those of ladies, very broad, all of silk, and superbly adorned with gold and silver, in which they extremely pride themselves.”*

I cannot well finish this article without remarking, from what the French baron says concerning himself, what strong disagreeable impressions of an erroneous kind, may be made upon the mind of an European at the offering some of the Asiatic presents, which are not only not affronting in *their* view, but designed to do those honour to whom they are presented, since de Tott could not get the better of it, though he perfectly knew the innocency of the intention, and had resided long enough, one would have thought, in the country to have destroyed the impression.

* Itin. p. 29. Saraceni autem rarò vel nunquam cinguntur nisi tualia, quam cum oratum vadunt coram se extendunt, exceptis nobilibus et equitibus, qui cingulis cinguntur ad dominarum modum, latis et de serico totaliter factis, auro et argento nobilissimè ornatis, in quibus summè glorianur.

OBSERVATION LXXXI.

Various Methods of honouring Persons, something similar to those in the East, anciently practised in these Kingdoms.

I do not know that any method can be taken, to repress that petulant delicacy with regard to Eastern gifts, which the Baron de Tott expressed in the passage cited in the last article, when he gives us an account of his receiving the robe with gratitude. But he rejected the two hundred sequins, in such a manner as might teach the vizier no more to offer him such an affront ; as well as to correct, the unhappy representations persons have been ready to make, of some of the presents mentioned in Scripture, than to compare them with some things of the like kind in former ages in our own country. Such a comparison may be useful to persuade us to abate somewhat of that petulance, and not to pretend to put that construction on the managements of other countries, or other times, which is formed merely on our own usages.

We are ready decidedly to condemn the giving small sums of money to great personages by way of present, or things of little value. We consider such managements as affronting ; but they were consistent with respect in other countries, and in our own too, in former times.

I would begin with what passed in Ireland, a part of our own country, some centuries back. The Countess of Moira, in a paper published in

the seventh volume of the *Archæologia*, (or the *Transactions of the Antiquarian Society*,) tells us, that “when the monarch of Ireland* called the king of Ulster to the field, or to a public assembly, he gave him ten ships, eleven cups, (whether of silver or of wood, we are not told) fifty horses, fifty swords, fifty large robes, fifty coats of mail, fifty mantles, fifty knives, ten greyhounds, twenty handful of leeks, and twenty swans’ eggs,” p. 100, note. The ships, the swords, the coats of mail, &c. we would readily admit were proper presents from the monarch to a subordinate prince and ally : but is there any thing more laughable in any of the Eastern presents, than twenty handful of leeks, to which perhaps may be added, the twenty swans’ eggs ?

But Ireland may be imagined to have been much more uncivilized than England ; let us then run over the list Hume has given us in his history of England, from the history of the Exchequer by Madox, which I had an opportunity of consulting, as to most of the articles, and found Hume’s account just. There, among other things, we shall find “three Flemish caps, two robes of green,† the promise of as many lampreys as a man could get ;‡ ten marks and three hawks ;§ ten bulls and ten cows ;|| two hundred hens, by a good

* For they had several kingdoms then in Ireland, as we had seven in England in the time of the Saxons, one king being chosen as chief over the rest, called the monarch, as was the usage among the Saxons of England.

† History of the Exchequer, p. 332.

‡ P. 333.

§ P. 329.

|| P. 319

woman to have access to her husband, who was in confinement." How despicable in our eyes! Hume also mentions "an hundred shillings; ten dogs; twenty lampreys; twenty chads; and that the catalogue might be enlarged."

But these things were many ages ago. Let us come nearer our own times. Queen Elizabeth was indisputably a great princess, and affected great magnificence; yet we find her receiving sums of money, and so low as ten pounds, for new-years' gifts; and from some people trinkets, and other trifles. One presented her with a pot of green ginger, and another of orange flowers; a second with a marchpane; and a third with a pye oringed.* To which may be added, that a gentleman has assured me, that there is a story in the beginning of the Sidney papers, of Queen Elizabeth's putting into her pocket after dinner, at a place where she was visiting, an agate-handled knife and fork, (after having had many things given her before during her visit,) which pocketing the knife and fork was thought an *especial mark of her graciousness*.

Shall we not, after this, be disposed to make great allowances for some of the gifts mentioned by travellers into the East; and particularly for some found in the sacred history? The usages of other countries, and former times, must be expected greatly to differ from those of our own.

The reflection Mr. Hume makes, on that list of presents to our ancient princes, is extremely

* Archæol. Vol. I. 7, 10.

sensible ; and, as coming from one that was by no means prejudiced in favour of the Scripture account of persons and things, deserves the more notice. It is as follows: “ It appears that the ancient kings of England put themselves entirely on the foot of the barbarous Eastern princes, whom no man must approach without a present ; who sell all their good offices ; and who intrude themselves into every business, that they may have a pretence for extorting money.”* He afterwards added, “ It will however be subject to remark, that the same ridiculous practices and dangerous abuses prevailed in Normandy, and probably in all the other states of Europe. England was not in this respect more barbarous than its neighbours.”†

OBSERVATION LXXXII.

Giving and receiv'ing Presents, Pledges of mutual Friendship.

WHEN the wise son of Sirach supposes, that the contumelious refusing to make a friendly exchange of presents with other people, is a just ground of shame, he seems to refer to that mutual accepting and offering presents which is now so common in these countries, and probably was so anciently, and which is esteemed such an essential part of friendliness of temper. “ Be ashamed—of scorning to give and take.”

* Vol. II. p. 131.

† P. 134, 135.

A mutual exchange of kind offices, and even of little presents, is among us considered as an amiableness, and the contrary as a hoggishness that one ought to be ashamed of: but these feelings appear to be much more lively in the Eastern world, and were so when the book entitled *Ecclesiasticus* was written.

Especially if we consider this book as drawn up in Egypt,* and attend to Maillet's account of the use of presents in that country. "There is no nation in the world where presents are more used than in this, especially on occasion of death or marriages.....It is practised in the marriages of Christians as well as of the Jews, upon going in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, or to Mecca; and more particularly on a return from thence. It is farther practised at the time of the baptism of Christians, and of the circumcision of the Turks, which are the principal ceremonies of the two religions. It is true, that there is no dishonour attends the receiving these presents, for a return never fails of being made on the like occasions. Finally, it is above all made use of at the times of visiting each other, which is very frequently in the course of the year, and which are always preceded by presents of fowls, sheep, rice, coffee, and other things of the like nature."†

This last article is very different from the usages that obtain in Europe, but shews their great use in intercourses of social life in Egypt.

* See the Prologue of the wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach.

† *Descript de l'Egypte*, Let. xi. p. 137.

In his last letter* he takes notice of the presents made to the conductor of the pilgrims going to Mecca ; and says, that during his continuance at Cairo, after his entering upon his office in form, “ there are none of his friends, none of the rich men, or people of consideration at Cairo, but what make him a present of eatables, that may be of use to him in his journey ; so that he has no occasion to be at much expence in providing for what may be wanting in the desert. However this is only advancing sums of money, which he takes care to repay at his return. Accordingly, that he may not be duped by this interested kind of generosity, he keeps an exact register of all the presents that have been made him, that he may make a return precisely of the same value, and no more, to those from whom he received them.

It is certain that there can be little virtue in such an intercourse, however it may be customary ; and therefore hardly worthy of the notice of this very moral Jewish writer. I would therefore set down the following paragraph, which, it is to be imagined, better coincides with that which the son of Sirach had in view. “ It must however be acknowledged that the Turks and the Arabs are very liberal on these occasions, and that they inspire them to act in a very noble and generous manner, which appears not to have the least of that sordid interestedness with which they are justly reproachable in every thing else. It is sufficient to be merely the neighbour of one that is going in pil-

* Let. dern. p. 227.

grimage to Mecca, to engage him to send a present as soon as he is told of it. It is true also, that this present never fails of having an equivalent return made, if the person survives the journey, and his circumstances will admit of it. But if he finds himself in such a state as not to be well able to do it, the least trifle, if not worth three-pence, will be received with pleasure, and they are perfectly satisfied with the smallest token of gratitude and remembrance." This enables us very perfectly to apprehend the thought of this passage of Ecclesiasticus : a readiness to receive every token of respect that appears to come from the heart, and to make all the return true gratitude, mingled with discretion, will admit of. The custom also at first might, and probably did, arise from beneficence, though in time it might become little better than traffic.

OBSERVATION LXXXIII.

Presents made and received, essentially necessary to civil Intercourse in the East.

OF the importance of presents, even of the smallest value, Mr. Bruce, in his Travels in Egypt, gives us the following proofs :

" Preparing to leave Metrahenny, and to begin our voyage in earnest, an Arab arrived from my friend the *Howadat*, with a letter, and a few dates, not amounting to one hundred. The Arab

was one of the people that had been sick, and wanted to go to Kennè, in Upper Egypt. The Sheikh expressed his desire that ‘ I would take him with me this trifle of about 250 miles ; that I would give him medicines, cure his disease, and maintain him all the way.’ On these occasions there is nothing like ready compliance ; he had offered to carry me the same journey, with all my people and baggage, without hire : I therefore answered instantly, ‘ You shall be very welcome ; upon my head be it.’ Upon this, the miserable wretch, half naked, laid down a dirty cloth, containing about ten dates ; and the Sheikh’s servant, which had attended him, returned in triumph. I mention this trifling circumstance, to shew, how essential to human and civil intercourse presents are considered in the East ; whether it be dates, or diamonds. They are so much a part of their manners that without them an inferior will never be at peace in his own mind, or think that he has a hold of his superior for his favour or protection.” *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 69.

In his passage up the Nile, having come to a place called *Shekh Ammer*, where he met with some friendly Arabs, he observes, “ Medicines and advice being given on my part, faith and protection pledged on theirs, two bushels of wheat and seven sheep were carried down to the boat ; nor could we decline their kindness, as refusing a present in that country (however it is understood in ours) is just as great an insult, as coming into the presence of a superior with no present at all. The great people among them came, and after

joining hands repeated a kind of prayer,* by which they declared themselves, and their children, accursed, if ever they lifted their hands against me in the *Tell* or field, in the desert, or in the river; or, in case that I or mine should fly to them for refuge, if they did not protect us at the risk of their lives, their families, and their fortunes; or, as they emphatically expressed it, to the death of the last male child among them." *Trav.* Vol. I. p. 152.

* This oath was in use among the Arabs or shepherds as early as the days of Abraham, Gen. xxi. 22, 23, 26.

END OF VOL. II.



